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THE CONVENTIONS

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NEWS AND VIEWS

"American sources" have sought to explain away the imprisonment of South Vietnamese peace proponent Truong Dinh Dzu as a tactic of the Thieu regime to dramatize independence from Washington, and have attempted to picture the action as an embarrassment to the Johnson Administration. The exercise is fraudulent.

The Dzu conviction is, at most, only an accidental embarrassment to the Administration, and, very likely, of no embarrassment whatsoever to the White House. How could it be?

Mr. Dzu was convicted on charges of advocating a coalition government as a step toward peace. That type of advocacy enjoys about as much acceptance in official Washington as it does in official Saigon—the belated and self-serving expression of dismay from Vice President Humphrey over Dzu's conviction notwithstanding.

Nor in prosecuting Dzu was Thieu underscoring his independence from Washington. No need to. On the question of coalition government, Washington and Saigon are of the one mind: they're adamantly opposed. In proceeding against Dzu, all Thieu had to do was act within South Vietnam's allegedly democratic new constitution; he had Washington's blessing in the form of affirmations extended by Mr. Johnson himself.

Those Johnson affirmations are being played down by pleaders for the Administration, but they cannot be minimized. They make Mr. Johnson not an innocent accessory, but a real, if unconscious, accomplice to an injustice done a man and a cause. The Dzu conviction, in a word, is a travesty of Lyndon Johnson's own making.

On July 20 in Honolulu, Mr. Johnson proclaimed to the world that he would not support a coalition government in South Vietnam. On July 23 in Cincinnati, he reaffirmed that determination in an appearance before the Governors' Conference. It was all the assurance a nervous, corrupt regime needed. By July 26 Mr. Dzu was serving a five-year term at hard labor.

But the tragedy of the Dzu affair transcends the fate of an individual, lamentable as that fate is. The tragedy is that of peace-loving people everywhere, for the Dzu affair exposes the self-defeating obstinacy, the utter imperceptiveness with which ends are being pursued in Vietnam.

There is no more chance of settling the war in Vietnam on the basis of a government with which the Vietnamese people as a whole cannot have a clear identification, than there is hope of persuading Hanoi to close shop and swear allegiance to Saigon. There must be accommodation in the direction of coalition government.

Senator McCarthy declared last April that to achieve peace Washington—and Saigon—had to be willing to accept a coalition government which included the National Liberation Front of the Viet Cong. "You might as well say it before the [Paris] talks, because that's what the war is all about," Mr. McCarthy remarked. The observation becomes more valid by the day, but not in Saigon or Washington.

No one is surprised over the rigidness of the Thieu regime on the matter of coalition government; it has numberless vested interests to protect. But at this advanced stage in the American-South Vietnamese fiasco, one would have expected from Washington some recognition of the folly that is, some evidence of realism, some trace of flexibility. Mr. Johnson has demonstrated that there is none and that none is to be expected from him.

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On the war front, the adaptation of the B-52, a plane designed to carry nuclear bombs to the heart of enemy territory, as a tactical weapon for use on the outskirts of Saigon, speaks volumes about the disintegration of American-South Vietnamese military strategy.

Despite all the rhetoric about new successes, the Allies are still back on their own doorstep, where they were months ago, when Don Luce wrote to the *Times*:

"General Westmoreland's optimism about the progress of the Vietnam war reminds me of a dinner conversation I once had with Bernard Fall.

"Fall had just been to a cocktail party where an American officer had gone on several minutes about all the allied victories. One of the Vietnamese officers present sadly smiled and replied, 'Yes, and our victories keep getting closer and closer to Saigon.' "

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It must require a special grace for Anglicanism to hold its patience with Rome.

In March, 1966, Rome chose the eve of Archbishop Ramsey's conferences with Pope Paul—the first meeting on an official level between Rome and Canterbury in 400 years—to restate its uncompromising position on mixed marriages and thus preclude discussion on an issue whose resolution is crucial for ecumenical harmony.

Last month, as if in further reproval of Anglicanism, Rome chose the opening of the 1968 Lambeth Conference—the decennial assembly of the world's Anglican bishops—to restate inflexible opposition to birth control. (It was the Lambeth Conference which in 1930 shattered birth control taboos by becoming the first major church group to endorse birth control. Rome shot from the hip with "Casti Connubii.")

Finally, to add insult to infelicities of timing, the Curia official who presented Pope Paul's new birth control encyclical to newsmen, Msgr. Fernando Lambruschini, used the occasion to criticize a 1966 report of the British Council of Churches, "Sex and Morality"—largely an Anglican document—for allegedly failing to recognize violations of chastity.

If the world draws from Rome's artless relationship with Anglicanism the message: *draw close, but not too close; we prefer our ecumenical isolation,* no one should be surprised, least of all Rome.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

HHH—Still a Democrat

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: . . . Despite my conviction that Eugene McCarthy should be nominated and would be elected, I cannot buy Robert McAfee Brown's bitter attack on Vice-President Humphrey [July 26]. To charge without any qualification, that Mr. Humphrey "has been the most vociferous advocate of our massive slaughter," may win rhetorical marks in the pulpit, but it is certainly to distort in an immoral manner the Vice-President's arguments on the war and to cynically debase the language of politics . . . If Dr. Brown and similar-minded could only learn to raise the central political, not moralistic, question about Vietnam, namely, what are the responsibilities inherent in U.S. power on today's volatile world, they might help all of us formulate appropriate moral judgments when considering foreign policy issues . . .

It is perhaps true that a Nixon victory, just as a McCarthy or Humphrey win, could conceivably aid in extricating us from Vietnam, but it seems ethereal to presume that the U.S., as the world's leading power, would thereby be bereft of its responsibilities for promoting world peace and development even to the point of being forced to intervene militarily in other volatile situations. No matter who becomes President, in fact, and even if we do withdraw and leave behind a South Vietnam of some stability, we will again be faced with both the issue of global socio-economic development and perhaps even further military interventions. Which party, Democratic or Republican, through its elected national leader, will pursue the one goal with greater vigor and the latter with more restraint? For one, I have no doubts that despite its grey and checquered post-war approach to both of these dilemmas, the Democratic Party has demonstrated it is the Party with the greatest sense of international human compassion and jus-

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THE NIXON GAUNTLET

The Republicans have apparently endeavored to snatch defeat from the gaping jaws of almost certain victory. And in the process, they have forced the country into reappraising just what the party is all about. After the Goldwater debacle of 1964, it has been the common assumption that the GOP had come to see the light and was firmly in the hands of the party "pragmatists" like Mr. Bliss of Ohio and the Eastern establishmentarians, and would henceforth seek the great wide middle-of-the-road wherein, presumably, the great majority of the electorate resides. The party, the theme goes, had its fling with "ideology" and was now in a position to return to the camp of normalcy—in other words, to rearrange itself as an election-winning machine rather than an ideological or philosophical movement.

The choice of Richard Nixon seems to confound this thesis, or at least to alter it substantially. With Nixon, the party seems to be declaring its willingness to get along—as it has been rather successfully—without the presidency, while retaining the ideological purity cemented at the last convention by the rightist cadres. The unusual deference shown to men like Strom Thurmond and the opinion of the Southern wing of the party lends further credence to this development, since for each Southern vote gained, it is probable that many more Northern votes will go down the drain, perhaps forever. The move was made in the face of a growing threat by George Wallace to walk away with the bulk of the deep South, but the Republicans haven't won the South since time immemorial anyway. That they should want to do so now—at the expense of the all-important industrial North and the still vital Midwest—can only be explained by the lingering effects

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of the far right. Furthermore, Nixon's choice of Gov. Spiro Agnew, a hard-liner on race, as someone who would be acceptable to the racists, inevitably leads one to conclude that the party under Mr. Nixon is likely to continue its movement rightward into hawkishness and increasing stress on the military and the police as vehicles for solving social and international problems.

The Republicans are therefore unlikely to become a majority party in the near future, as they might have become under the leadership of a Rockefeller, or might one day become under the transformation that would bring a John Lindsay to power; they are gambling on the fact that the problems facing the country are insurmountable, and that in the wake of continuing crisis the electorate will move to the right with them. Those who had hoped against hope for a Rockefeller victory were shown to be badly out of touch with the Republican reality, more in tune with the gaping wounds in America's body and soul than with the centers of power in their own party. Indeed, it is still a fact that the so-called liberal Republican is more anomalous than the conservative Democrat. For while the latter is opposed to his party's liberalism on the race issue in the South, he is more frequently in touch with the party's liberalism on the other issues. The liberal Republicans are in tougher shape, and have been increasingly in opposition to their party's leadership on a wider range of issues, and have often even had to hide their party affiliation when running for office. John Lindsay is a good case in point, but Rockefeller and Javits are others; Eisenhower, the supreme example of the non- or supra-party man, seemed to prove that to have national appeal, you have to submerge the Republican credo under a progressive patina. Not that the left wing of the party is likely to stop trying to rise within the party: Lindsay's seconding speech of Agnew's nomination signals his hope that after the pending disaster on Nov. 5, the party will be ready to welcome him to its top leadership, an occasion with scant possibility. What the Nixon resurgence has demonstrated is that rather than run the risk of change the party is more inclined to rely on the politics of image-making. Rather than seek out candidates more truly in touch with the more than six crises confronting this society, the party chose a man whose talent it is to speak with forked tongue. In fact the biggest worry of the Nixon camp prior to the nomination was that their man would blunder with an intemperate, indiscreet, or merely just a quotable stupid remark. Fortunately, though Nixon did in fact blunder, there was no impact to it: the prize was already his. His statement that the U.S. ought to go in and take the Pueblo back from the North Koreans (a "fourth-rate military power") fell on deaf ears; his tape recorded remark to a Southern delegation that he privately did not believe in open housing, but had to go along with it publicly so as to keep things quiet in the party, came too late to have any impact, save perhaps on the expendable North and with people like Jackie Robinson whose vote was written off the minute Nixon offered veto power to Senator Thurmond.

The Nixon candidacy reportedly sent Democratic party people into fits of ecstasy in the expectation that anyone (read: Mr. Humphrey) could beat Nixon hands down. Unfortunately, the Gallup and Harris polls register that despite the GOP's indifference to the rest of the country, a Nixon victory is not as remote as one might believe. And in fact, Nixon, tied as he is to the far right, could well use with effect the themes he enunciated in his acceptance speech—peace (with honor), order (for the troubled), and a reassertion of the "traditional values" that have been under such strident barrages from the left and the blacks. Nixon has thrown down the gauntlet to everyone who yearns for peace and racial justice in America. It is left to the Democrats to pick it up.

LOYALTY: TO WHOM?

The reaction of the American bishops to the Pope's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* was as predictable as it is sad. The encyclical provided them with a fine opportunity to elevate and dignify their own status in the American Church; so far they have let that opportunity pass. They know well enough how heated the discussion prior to the encyclical was, and they must have been aware of the direction being taken by moral theology on contraception; they have surely heard about the extent of the dissent.

For all that, they chose the least helpful, the least nuanced, the least healing response possible: an automatic, reflexive expression of loyalty to the Pope and immediate acceptance of his teaching. "Recognizing his unique role in the universal church, we, the bishops, unite with him in calling upon our priests and people to receive with sincerity what he has taught, to study it carefully, and to form their consciences in its light." So reads the central part of the statement issued in the name of the bishops by Archbishop Dearden. As if to make certain that no one interpreted the last clause of that passage as an endorsement of anything but a papally approved conscience, the general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Bishop Joseph L. Bernardin, pointed out that the episcopal statement was meant as a clear-cut affirmation of the encyclical. Cardinals Krol, O'Boyle and McIntyre came out at once with independent praise of the encyclical, and were later followed by a number of others of their episcopal colleagues.

As of the moment, not one American bishop has shown any sign of independent thinking on the subject. As of now, not one has seen fit even to adopt the at least ambiguous stance of some European bishops. Cardinal Heenan of England, hardly known to be a radical, was willing to urge Catholics in dissent from the encyclical

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to continue receiving the sacraments. Archbishop Hurley of Durban showed a normal complement of Christian common sense when he pointed out "That there are urgent questions that cry out for answers," in the aftermath of the encyclical. In a preliminary statement, the Dutch hierarchy took account of the widespread conviction that many other elements, in addition to the encyclical, should enter into individual choice.

By contrast, the American bishops, to a man the public would have to gather, saw no real problems with the encyclical. Is it, though, really the case that not a single American bishop has any reservations about the substance of the papal position? Can it be that not one bishop has been moved by the theological argumentation in favor of a change in the "traditional" position? If so, that is incredible. If not, then why have not those with reservations spoken their mind?

It is appropriate enough that the bishops express loyalty in general to the Pope. But they also owe some loyalty to the rest of the Church: their people and their theologians. They are responsible to them as well as to the papacy. They should not have to be reminded of that.

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THE REPUBLICANS

WHITE ELEPHANT TICKET

The return of Richard Milhous Nixon and his bargain with the Southern delegations represent a validation of an apprehension voiced by the Ripon Society, a group of liberal Republican collegians and young GOP activists, about the advent of a white elephant in the party. In 1966, the Ripon Society published a warning about the Republican future: "It is remarkable how slow our political parties have been to grasp some of the issues in the new politics. . . . Many Republicans still look to the leaders of the pre-Goldwater era—but not to the new faces emerging in the states and in Congress. . . . How sad, with such opportunity untapped, that some Republicans should seek and applaud an increase in their number from the ranks of discredited Southern Democrats [and] for the trophies of the past, a few discarded 'white elephants.' "

The Miami Beach convention signified the advent of a Babylonian Captivity for the Republican Party; the roll-calls and the abortive revolt against a Nixon-Agnew ticket demonstrated that the white elephant bloc of Goldwaterites, former Dixiecrats and nostalgic Nixonites has delivered the GOP into Southern receivership. In a trade for first ballot votes, Nixon granted concessions to Southern caucuses that amounted to a virtual veto power over the vice presidential choice, Supreme Court appointments, civil rights enforcement, and military and government contracts in the projected Nixon Administration.

This white elephant power means that the best traditions of the GOP have been betrayed and that both the progressives and conservatives have been disenfranchised within their own party. This development was foreshadowed in 1964 when Robert Taft Jr. and Charles P. Taft shared the moderate and liberal aversion to right-wing extremism. In 1968, the GOP label and the veneer of another new Nixon cover the historic reversal that has taken place: the philosophy and power base of the white elephant is antithetical to Hamiltonian and Lincolnian federalism and an open invitation to conservative Democrats to invade the Republican Party.

The white elephant triumph has its historical and geopolitical roots in the Whiggery of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The first resemblance is the "Southern strategy" which appeals to renegade Democrats. The Nixon nomination and the selection of Spiro Agnew as a compromise candidate reflected the influence of Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Howard "Bo" Callaway of Georgia, rather than the new South articulated by Thruston Morton, and Claude Kirk. In a similar manner, the ticket of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler, a former Democrat and the Spiro Agnew of his times, signalled the ascendancy of Cotton Whigs and Conscience Whigs. Secondly, a soft version of unit rule, a device unknown in Republican conventions despite unsuccessful stalwart attempts to impose it in 1876 and 1880, was adopted as a voluntary strategy by the Mississippi and Florida delegates with the exception of Florida Governor Kirk and one Reagan supporter. Also, the 1968 version of unit rule has established a precedent among Deep South delegations to magnify their influence in the future. (Moreover, Negro credential challenges against lily-white delegations from Louisiana and Florida were not upheld and a new provision for proportionate minority representation in the 1972 convention call will be nullified if soft unit-rule discipline becomes a prerequisite for Black membership in Southern Republican delegations.) Third, the Nixon-Agnew ticket assumes that the traditional party vote has no other option and, like the Whig propaganda of 1840, the Nixon message to the Southland is preservation of the status quo.

The capitulation of the new Nixon to the white elephant faction is an extension of the old Nixon who appealed to conservative Democratic pockets in his California career and in previous national campaigns. In early 1946, Nixon had identified himself as closer to Earl Warren than to William Knowland. However, in the cross-filing California primaries, Nixon discovered he could

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exploit conservative Democrat dislike for the New Deal and Fair Deal. His biographers, Earl Mazzo and Stephen Hess, record: "Much of his speech was directed at conservative Democrats." Against Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas, Nixon denounced the ADA and left-wing Democrats as betrayers of the "good old Democrats" and their gospel of local government and strict interpretation of the Constitution. Nixon has continued this tactic to the present time.

Yet, Nixon would like to be a centrist and his new positions on "black capitalism" and "the new diplomacy" are logical adaptation of a middle-of-the-road position for modern and Taftian Republican coalitions in the agricultural-industrial complex in the upper two-thirds of the United States. But, Nixon's political comeback needed the white elephant faction and his promises to them undercut the credibility of his entire campaign. For example, the Illinois delegation delivered 50 of its 58 votes to Nixon in the expectation that Lindsay, Percy, Hatfield or Dirksen's son-in-law, Howard Baker, would be the vice-presidential nominee. Such a choice would have given the Illinois GOP a prime opportunity to beat the Daley machine in the state and Cook County elections. Chicago Alderman Jack Sperling, a candidate for county judge, blurted out the silent feelings of disillusioned Illinoisians at the Nixon-Agnew ticket: "This is a real fraud. If he had given any hint of this last night, he wouldn't have walked out there with the nomination, I'll tell you that."

Nixon's vision of "binding up the nation's wounds" seems to mean moderation in public rhetoric and courtship of Dixie and the backlash behind the scenes. Already this split-level appeal has disenchanted the pragmatic professionals and the liberal rank-and-file Republicans are crossing over to McCarthy, who appealed to progressive Republican sensibilities in the primaries. Abraham Lincoln could have told Nixon that the GOP cannot exist part true Republican and part Cotton Whig. It seems Dick Nixon has dealt with white elephants so long that he has become something of a white elephant himself.

JOHN J. QUIRK

(John J. Quirk, a free lance writer working out of Chicago, covered the Miami convention.)

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THE DEMOCRATS

DISASTER IN CHICAGO?

After all that has happened this year, the Democratic convention seems like an anti-climax. Can anything startling and upsetting still happen? Can all our assumptions be knocked out from under us again? The answer is probably no. It is hard to believe that Hubert Humphrey is anything but an odds-on favorite for the presidential nomination; all the turmoil of the past year will probably result in nothing but the triumph of the old order in Chicago.

There are at least four reasons why Senator McCarthy's campaign appears to have fallen short (although every one is subject to instant reinterpretation should McCarthy somehow pull it off). They are, in no particular order:

1. McCarthy has failed to communicate with the poor and the black who flocked to Senator Kennedy. But the reason lies more in style than in substance. As one black leader from New York told me: "We are people of sorrows, of emotions. Sometimes we go for leaders who can do nothing for us but appeal to us emotionally. McCarthy could do a lot of what we need, but he just does not know how to reach us." The leader said he had urged McCarthy several times to be more demonstrative, to identify more feelingly with the aspirations of his people. But that is just not McCarthy's way. He seems to abhor emotion, especially emotion used for political purposes, and his final judgment on Robert Kennedy was that he was a "demogogue."

McCarthy is loved by the comfortable white middle-class that responds to his cool wit and mature bearing —and does not want to be taken on any crusade. But those who want a crusade, whose lives are so miserable that coolness is almost an insult, turn away in disappointment.

2. McCarthy has failed to get through to the broader group which supported Senator Kennedy. Indeed, the rancor between the two camps is probably worse than ever. The Kennedy people remember McCarthy's nasty cracks during the California and Oregon campaigns (which were never as nasty as they remember); they hold their dead leader's view that McCarthy would make a poor President; they resent that McCarthy is alive and Kennedy is not. Many Kennedy men also point out that McCarthy's Senate record, particularly on urban problems, is less than superb. And they share the feeling of the blacks that McCarthy has no real gut sympathy for the underclass that Kennedy made his main constituency.

In some ways this is unfair. If you listen to McCarthy's speeches all the right values are there. He has spoken often of "the new civil rights"—housing, jobs, health care, etc.—that the nation must guarantee for the poor. And there is no reason to believe that he would not push for a wide range of domestic legislation as President. But the fire is missing, and that has a value of its own. An important task for any President—but particularly for the next one—is moral leadership. And if McCarthy were to move the nation to guarantee those "new civil

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rights," he would need the public passion that has been missing thus far.

3. McCarthy has failed to win over the delegates to the convention the way he won the electorate in many primary states. Part of the reason is that he has not broadened his base of popular support and has thus not really scared the delegates. In addition, the college students who did such a great job in the primaries have been virtually useless with the party professionals. You cannot ring a county leader's doorbell and convince him to vote for McCarthy because the war is evil.

McCarthy, moreover, does not speak the language of the delegates any better than he speaks the language of the ghetto. "He has bewildered the hell out of every delegate he's talked to," said one veteran reporter. When Thomas Finney, a young Washington lawyer, resigned from McCarthy's staff earlier this month he criticized the Senator for his "disdainful" attitude toward delegates.

Again, this is mostly a question of style. McCarthy will not make the concessions on rhetoric and manner that could help him, and in some ways that is certainly noble. But in some ways it is not. If the country is really as badly off as McCarthy says, then he should be prepared to make a few concessions to keep Humphrey out of the White House. The "new politics," like any other politics, is not a game of moral absolutes.

4. The fourth problem is not McCarthy's fault; it is the inherent nature of the Democratic Party and the political system. One of McCarthy's greatest strengths is the fear among local party chieftains that a ticket headed by Humphrey would pull other Democrats down to defeat. But this is counter-balanced by another fear—that the amateurs energized by McCarthy will completely take over local parties. The last thing many local leaders want to do is give the amateurs the inestimable boost of nominating McCarthy. With Humphrey running for President they may lose a few local offices; with McCarthy running they might lose control of everything.

McCarthy is not completely out of it. The party pros could decide that Humphrey would be so disastrous at the head of the ticket that they'd prefer to take their chances with McCarthy. One keeps hearing rumors that Humphrey's support is soft in this state and that state, and we will not know for sure until the balloting. But for Humphrey to be stopped, his opponents would need a popular rallying point; and McCarthy, for the reasons cited, has not stepped boldly into the breach.

One faint possibility is that Senator George S. McGovern, South Dakota's favorite son, could join with McCarthy in keeping enough votes away from Humphrey to prevent a first-ballot nomination. McGovern, director of Food for Peace under President Kennedy, could attract the delegates (particularly former Kennedy men) who do not want either Humphrey or Kennedy. Once Humphrey is stopped, anything could happen. But don't bet on it.

STEVEN V. ROBERTS

(Steven V. Roberts covers politics for the New York Times.*)*

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U.S. BASES IN SPAIN

THE FOLLY OF GEOPOLITICS

Behind a veil of secrecy, U.S. diplomats and military experts are currently negotiating with Franco's Spain for a renewal of the "arrangements" which have made Spain an outpost of American military power in the Mediterranean. The so-called pact of Madrid was first signed in 1953, renewed in 1958 and 1963, and expires in September, 1968. Because of the domestic obsession with the American expedition to Vietnam, there has been little publicity in this country concerning the de-facto alliance with the Spanish dictator; press and TV have ignored the issue, and there have been no debates reported in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Nonetheless, the renewal of the military agreements with the Fascist overlords of Spain poses problems of the first magnitude for both the United States and Spain. For Americans, the issue may be put bluntly: shall the American Republic continue to be the primary source of military and financial aid for a regime created by the Fascist Axis and despised by a majority of the Spanish people? For the oligarchy which has ruled Spain since the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, the problem is to secure from the Americans the economic, political and military support without which the regime would disintegrate.

The price for American support is high, involving the bartering away of Spanish sovereignty and the mortgaging of Spain's mineral and industrial wealth to American corporate investors. The Quisling relationship which results from the American presence differs only in detail from the dependence of Franco and his court on the guns, planes, tanks and volunteers supplied by Hitler and Mussolini a generation ago.

The rehabilitation of Franco actually began during World War II and was one of the least brilliant stratagems of Winston Spencer Churchill. Despite the origins of Franco's regime; despite the dispatch of the Spanish Blue Division to fight with Hitler's troops; despite repeated official Spanish support for the Axis cause, Franco had refused the Germans aid in the reduction of Gibraltar and he had refrained from an open declaration of war against the Allies. He had refused to join the Axis fight

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not because of respect for the democracies, but because his principal German advisor, Admiral Canaris, had warned him that the Germans would be defeated.

Because of strong British pressure and powerful friends within the U.S. Department of State and in the U.S. Senate, Franco survived the cataclysm that overwhelmed his erstwhile allies of the anti-Comintern pact, Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. In the immediate postwar years the powerful anti-Fascist sentiments of most of western Europe prevented Franco from enjoying the largesse of the Marshall Plan, membership in the United Nations, and later on, formal entry into the NATO Pact, but the Cold War restored Franco to respectability. The Pentagon, reacting to the imbalance of military power on the European continent, the victories of the Chinese Communists in Asia, and the end of the American monopoly in nuclear weapons, wished to expand its bases around the world, particularly in the Mediterranean area. By the early 1950's neither the origins nor the record of the Franco government presented difficult barriers.

Presidents Roosevelt and Truman had neither forgotten nor forgiven the Fascist character of Franco's government; at least, they had kept it at arm's length. When direction of American foreign policy passed into the hands of the Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles regime, the military, supported by the Senate conservatives McCarran, Connolly, Brewster, had their way. Admiral Sherman, Commander of the American Mediterranean Naval Forces, paved the way for the American-Spanish military agreements. Effectively they made of Spain an American *place d'armes*. Strategic air bases dot the countryside. Naval bases and docking rights have been granted. The nuclear submarines come and go. With American loans, highways, railways and ports have been modernized, and the flow of modern ground weapons to Spain has been continuous.

This large military investment in Spain has been paralleled, particularly in recent years, by an economic offensive of the first magnitude. Between 1957 and 1967, $1.2 billion of American capital were invested in plant and equipment in Spain. Approximately 70 percent of foreign investments in Spain are now American. Of the 300 largest American corporations, 173 have established branches in Spain. These giant monopolies dominate particularly those enterprises which are essential for the industrialization of the country: oils, chemicals, mining, metallurgical complexes, machine tools, agricultural machinery, etc. With the U.S.-equipped army, the primary source of repressive power, converted into a reliable strike-breaking gendarmerie, the "favorable climate" for foreign investors can be guaranteed by the Francoist technocrats. These imperial developments have tended to put what was an irremediably weak economy completely at the mercy of foreigners. Franco the "nationalist" has effectively sold his country to the highest bidder.

Opposition to a renewal of the military and economic agreements is widespread in Spain. It runs all the way from members of the titled aristocracy to the old clandestine opposition parties. Traditional nationalists resent the debasement of Spanish sovereignty. The illegal Marxist parties and the powerful Anarchist movement do not wish Spain to become a satellite in the service of American imperialism. The young workers and students, who are very much a part of the New Europe, have rioted from one end of Spain to another in opposition to the American policy in Vietnam. They do not wish to see Spain turned into a pawn that could be sacrificed in the American diplomatic chess game with the Soviet Union, particularly since this game involves the presence of hydrogen bombs.

These groups will surely escalate the tactics of opposition if the pact is renewed—no matter what the *quid pro quo*. The revolutionary groups who remember that Spain is the classical home of the guerrilla have created a National Liberation Front which combines its assault against the repressive social laws of Franco with demands for the total restoration of national sovereignty. It links the recovery of Gibraltar to the expulsion of the Americans from Spain. Since its program includes also the recovery of Spain's great natural wealth from foreign control, it has been able to seize the banner of integral nationalism from the aging thugs who 30 years ago brought the Moors, the Italian Blackshirt Divisions and Hitler's Condor Legion to Spain in order to preserve a dying social order.

Powerful, perhaps irresistible, winds of change are blowing through Spain. No longer can the regime be certain that Francoism will survive the physical passing of the Generalissimo. Spain is a Catholic country, but it is the home of both the word and the idea "Liberal." Its municipalities have a thousand-year tradition of autonomy.

Furthermore, Franco's successors cannot count on the Church to defend the bitter social and economic inequalities of the country. Just as there is a new student generation, and new workers' commissions, so is there also a new priesthood, one inspired by the social reforms of Popes John and Paul. It is priests such as Father Gonzalez Ruiz, whose apostolate takes him to the workers' communities, who has denounced capitalism in language as impassioned as that of the Barcelona workers. He may be the harbinger of the new style of Spanish politics. Father Ruiz is an active supporter of the illegal workers' commissions. He keeps a crucifix and a photograph of the late Ernesto Che Guevara on his desk in his Madrid apartment. Given this general setting, and despite the clamor raised over the appearance of Soviet naval vessels in the Mediterranean, it seems highly doubtful that Spain will long remain a secure part of the American empire.

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THE ENCYCLICAL

The papal position on birth control is not an article of faith

THE RIGHT TO DISSENT

GREGORY BAUM

Pope Paul VI has made his decision. In the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* he condemns every form of artificial birth control, including the pill, as contrary to the order of nature and hence as an unqualified evil. He calls upon governments to refrain from promoting immoral practices among the people and asks Catholics to influence their governments in this direction.

That Pope Paul would at this time decide to uphold the teaching of recent popes on this matter was a surprise and a shock to many Catholics and other people deeply concerned with morality and the future of society. The Pope's decision went against the majority report of his own study commission, against the almost unanimous voice of the Lay Congress held in Rome last year, against the wishes of many bishops expressed at the recent meeting of the Synod, and against the weight of contemporary Catholic theology. The Pope rejected the Christian experience of vast number of Catholics and the witness of other Christian Churches.

By what argument does Pope Paul establish his position? The argument, we note, is not drawn from divine revelation. The argument is based on rational reflection: it belongs to the order of reason. The fundamental principle invoked by the encyclical is the inseparable unity between love and fecundity in human sexuality. This principle belongs to the very structure of human life. It is a natural law. The encyclical makes this principle normative not only for the overall orientation of married life; it even applies it to the individual sexual act in marriage. Every sexual act, we are told, must be an expression of love and open to procreation. From this it follows that all mechanical means of birth control are against the order of nature. The same principle is applied to the use of the pill. The pill interferes with the natural, biological processes in man to render the marriage act sterile and hence must be regarded as against nature.

The reader of the encyclical familiar with contemporary Catholic theology may find that the argument moves too uncritically from the fundamental principle to particular applications. All Catholic theologians accept the inseparable unity between love and fecundity in human sexuality. This is basic to man's historical existence. In more recent theology this principle is applied to the total orientation of married life but not necessarily and under all circumstances to each individual sexual act in marriage. If a marriage is orientated toward love and children in a general way, there may be circumstances in which contraceptive birth regulation is permissible and moral. It is quite widely held by theologians, even by the more cautious, that since the pill does not interfere with the performance of the sexual act, its use is morally indistinguishable from the rhythm method.

Hard to Follow and Explain

The Catholic people will not find the papal encyclical easy to follow. It will be difficult for bishops and priests to explain it to the people. It is difficult to explain how a rule of life that is based on natural law and hence corresponds to the universal moral experience of man, is advocated in the present culture only by the Catholic Church, unless one wanted to suggest that the consciences of other men and even other Churches are so corrupt that they are no longer in touch with the foundation of human morality.

Bishops and priests will find it difficult to explain the logic by which the encyclical moves from the general

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principle to the particular applications. In particular the word "natural" is used equivocally in the text. Natural sometimes refers to what belongs to the basic structure of human life. Here "nature" or man's fidelity to what he is and is to be, is the norm of morality. To act against "nature" in this profound sense is to damage man's integrity. At other times the word natural refers to biological processes in man. In explaining why the use of the pill is wrong and why the rhythm method is permissible, the encyclical says that the pill interferes with the "natural" processes of human life while the rhythm method does not. The use of the pill is, therefore, against nature and hence immoral. The word natural is here used in two different senses. Priests will find it difficult to explain to the faithful why something that is against "nature" in a biological sense should necessarily be against "nature" in the profound sense of man's basic structure.

Many Catholics, bishops, priests and laity, have reflected on the issue for years. They have studied the writings of theologians, they have listened to the witness of Christians and men with sensitive consciences whom they admired, they have slowly formed their own conviction on the matter. Many Catholics have become convinced that birth control is not always against the nature of man. In many circumstances birth control is in accordance with man's historical nature to assume ever greater responsibility for himself and for his future. Man is summoned by God to assume responsibility for his history. What shall these Catholics do now? If they cannot accept the papal encyclical, must they leave the Catholic Church? We must examine this question.

Human and Rational Wisdom

The papal position on birth control is not an article of faith. It is not infallible. Papal infallibility has to do with teaching divine revelation. What does this mean? Papal infallibility has to do with what Jesus Christ taught us to believe and taught us to do (faith and morals). But the evaluation of birth control has to do with human wisdom. Many moral issues treated by the Church belong to this area of human and rational wisdom. (For instance, private property, religious liberty, the principle of subsidiarity, etc.) In this area the Church has the authority to teach, but here her teaching is always non-infallible and changeable. In other words, here the Church's authoritative teaching is fallible—which means that at times it can even be wrong. Catholics believe that since the ecclesiastical magisterium (teaching authority) is guided by the Spirit this will not happen very often. But there is nothing in Catholic dogma that assures them that it could not occasionally happen.

Since in the area of human wisdom and morality the Church teaches with authority, Catholics are always willing to learn and adopt the official teaching. They want to be docile to the teaching of bishops and popes. But what happens if they cannot assimilate the proposed teaching? What happens if this teaching goes counter to their own tested objective reasoning? Canonists and theologians have always held that under these conditions it is licit and moral for Catholics to disagree with an official position of the Church. In the language of the school books, the religious assent given to authoritative, non-infallible teaching is not absolute but conditional. When his convictions are based on tested and objective reasons, a loyal Catholic may rightfully dissent from the Church's official position.

The celebrated case here is the issue of religious liberty. When Catholic authors in the last century first proposed the separation of Church and State as an ideal and advocated the principle of religious liberty, the papacy repeatedly condemned this position in encyclicals and other authoritative ecclesiastical ducuments. Many Catholics, including bishops, however, continued to hold to the principle of religious liberty. Deeply convinced of it, they disagreed with the official position. This happened especially in countries where Catholics lived in a pluralistic society and shared a new cultural experience as yet unknown and untried in Rome. Theologians continued to defend the principle of religious liberty. Eventually at Vatican Council II this principle, condemned in the last century, was fully acknowledged by the Catholic Church.

Catholics are not rebels in the Church. They love an ordered community. They acknowledge the authority of bishops and popes to teach, even in matters that go beyond divine revelation. But when their tested convictions demand it, they are free to dissent from an authoritative, non-infallible position of the Church. This freedom will be widely used by Catholics in regard to the papal encyclical. This freedom does not mean, of course, that people can do what they feel like. No moral person holds such a position. Life is always serious. A man must act according to his deep convictions about the meaning of human life. A man must follow his tested conscience.

Catholics who cannot accept the papal teaching on birth control need not leave the Catholic Church. Nor do they become hypocrites by staying in the Church. If they have formed deep convictions on the morality of birth control, they may dissent from the official position and follow their own tested conscience.

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The 'good news' can be distorted, obscured and made less accessible

A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE

J. C. GERBER

Some Roman Catholic Christians will undoubtedly feel that Pope Paul's encyclical on birth control has forced them into a painful choice: their conscience or the Church. The maneuvers of the past few years, however, as well as the reiterated statements from Roman sources that "the Church cannot have taught error," should have saved us from being surprised into such a dilemma, warned us that a "liberal" statement was very unlikely and indicated that the fears and refusals of the Reformation Era were still with us. Those fears and refusals were, at bottom, a stiff-necked and demonic unwillingness to acknowledge that the Church can *sin*, and they have been given a significant place and formulation in the present encyclical: "*above all* because certain criteria of solutions had emerged [from the special Commission first instituted by John XXIII] which departed from the moral teaching on marriage proposed with constant firmness by the teaching authority of the Church" (Par. 6. Emphasis added).

We now have the long-delayed statement, it is adamantly "conservative," and it may possibly precipitate the crisis so many have feared. Reflection, painful and personal as well as historical, can indicate why the statement was delayed, why it is "conservative," and why it need not precipitate a crisis for individual Catholics and must not for the Roman Church as a whole. The ecclesiastical principle itself is at stake.

It should be suggested most forcefully to all Catholics, but especially to those whose slowly-formed convictions and expectations have seemed to lead them into the dilemma of either-or, that "conscience or Church" does not represent their only alternative. We must finally see that the choice of Christian faith for the individual who now feels torn between his convictions and "submission," the choice dictated by the wisdom of the greatest Christian sages and by the New Testament itself, is *both* conscience *and* Church—until the two are in accord again through a resolution of the anomaly of the ecclesiastical government's being at odds, in fact and *in principle*, with the *sensus fidelium*.

Of course, the suggestion that the choice of faith is *both* conscience *and* Church will seem to some wilfully provocative, rebellious and subversive. But such a charge misses the distinctive "Catholic principle" of ecclesiology: the Spirit lives and moves in a Body all the members of which are fallen, all of whom are not "in Christ" but "in sin" whenever they resist the Spirit and until they cry, "Abba, Father!" We experience such resistance within ourselves daily, as we know. We sin daily; the Church sins daily; we who are, all of us, the Church sin daily —*above all* in our very efforts to establish that mode of fidelity to the Spirit which is our deepest desire.

On the other hand, for those who have already, these past few years especially, resolved the tension of living in such ambivalence by a choice in accord with the "Protestant principle" of "protest and separate," my suggestion will seem the very choice a Catholic cannot make. Neither the Vigilante nor the Polemicist in each of us wants to live through what seems to me *the* paradox of faith in Jesus: that the supreme suffering exacted of that faith is always that of bearing with, while striving to reform, the infidelity of the Church itself. And we can no longer allow the Ironist in us to guard our points—and us.

At this time it ought to be suggested to the man who finds himself at odds with this encyclical that *he* is, perhaps, being asked by the Spirit which is the source and vitality of his own faith to bear and live with that which, in his reluctant judgment, both caused the delay in the appearance of this document and dictated its "conservative" stance. He is being asked to live a relationship with the Church which is morally ambivalent, but—it should be insisted—morally ambivalent *in the same way as his relationship to himself*. With this realization, it seems to me, a man begins to share the Passion of Christ, not simply as it arises from his own inner divisions, but for and with all men as it arises from the dark mystery of the nature we share—and share even as members of Christ's Body, the Church. Perhaps, that is, it has now become our conscious and inescapable duty to live and suffer what many have lived and suffered, but what the "official" Church has never lived and suffered consciously and openly, never admitted without self-protective qualifications, though the evidence is only too painfully obvious in its history—again, its sinfulness. This, too, is part of the *mysterium fidei*, its penultimate mystery. And *yet* "God sent his only-begotten Son."

It must be suggested, that we are now being asked at last—after all our sins in the name of The Name—to take seriously as *inner* realities the parables of the tares and the wheat, the good and bad seed. The inescapable truth is that the Church is *both* Bride of Christ *and* whore

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lusting after the idols of luxury and power (though all the while yearning after a reputation for spotless virtue); both angelic and satanic, both just and sinner—both Christ and itself anti-Christ. And we know this is so because, as Paul tells us in his psychologically penetrating analysis of sin in *Romans* 7, such division exists within ourselves.

Naturally, in facing himself with such paradoxes a man comes up against questions which have precisely this sort of painfully *personal* bearing. He cannot really ask, he hasn't earned the right to ask, how the Church can be both Body of Christ and Grand Inquisitor, how it can both preach the message of Christ, as it faithfully does, and simultaneously betray that message in infidelity, without being finally driven back upon himself and having to ask: how can a man be a disciple of Christ and . . . a man? How can this be so in me? But it is—in me, in my fellows, in our Bishops and in our Pope even as in Peter. And yet we *do* "preach Christ and him crucified"—yearning all the while to avoid that crucifixion which is our own moral ambivalence, wanting to keep safely outside ourselves the dark satanic power which lives and moves in us.

Thus, if the man at odds with *and* the man at one with this encyclical are really to face the point, they have, it seems to me, to see that their understandably outraged question, "Can I tolerate idolatry in the Church?" really comes down to this: Can I tolerate idolatry in myself? Perhaps I can't. In that case there are only two choices which will satisfy the full demands of my secret, fearful logic.

First, I can leave the Church. But if I do this, I ought also to leave Christianity entirely, since the Protestant Churches—in their origin and in principle—separated to avoid suffering *within* the Body its inevitable inner divisions, just as Rome finally expelled them in response to the same demonic impulse. But further, I ought also to leave the United States, since it is just as intolerable that American planes should napalm Vietnamese women and children to preserve "democracy" and American power as that Rome should demand that women bear those children to preserve the "constant firmness" of its authority. And, in all logic, I should—to be thoroughly consistent—leave the world also, since it is even more intolerable that God should let such babies be born at all. Or if I cannot follow my logic to this last extremity, I can join Camus "on that dizzying crest" and be a Promethean, staring in mute defiance at the absurd and indifferent heavens. It could then be said of me, as Camus says of Sisyphus, that "his rock is his thing." Camus, however, misreads the Greek myth he adopts as a comprehensive paradigm of human life: Sisyphus' defiance is the product of an evasion; he is condemned by the gods to the everlasting cycles of "the same thing over and over again" as punishment for his refusal to undertake willingly the journey to the underworld. He is, by the very fact of his refusal, trapped in that realm—controlled by that side of himself—which he will not acknowledge. This whole series of choices represents just such an attempt to escape the burden of moral ambivalence. I have become a Polemicist against life.

Secondly, if I am unable to tolerate idolatry in myself and in others, I can stay in the Church. But if I do this, I ought also to ferret out and expel, as wilfully blind or morally corrupt, those who do not comply with every directive from Rome. This choice represents an attempt to escape all moral ambivalence and inner division by isolating or exterminating it. I have become a Vigilante and Inquisitor of human kind.

In other words, *both* choices represent an understandable but profoundly self-deceptive unwillingness to tolerate the human condition. Both impulses are self-destructive, destructive of all true organic order, and deeply at odds with the life and teaching of Jesus, who was crucified through the cooperation of authorities, political and religious, who felt their hegemony threatened by treason or sin.

It is not hard to see why these paradoxes of our nature should be found offensive and subversive, for they affront and undermine our firm and confident sense of ourselves. But the inner logic of such reflections should prepare us to accept, as a matter of experience, the fact that the Church, precisely in being *the* locus of the operation of the Spirit, will be *thereby* the locus of the demonic as well. This *is* a scandal that must be admitted; above all, a scandal to oneself, a humiliation so profound as to force one toward terror. But the source of this terror is within oneself.

If I set out to face my inner ambivalence in its depths, I face what seems like, what is experienced as and what may perhaps be the destruction of the self I know, that self which is, to me, myself. Thus, if I yearn to witness without reservation to the presence of the Spirit within and to risk the claim that the God Who is Love is active and sovereign in the world as in myself, then the "one thing" still necessary has become, for me, to allow myself to be plunged (I can't effect this descent myself by deliberate will) into that abyss where there may be and is, in the moment of the experience itself, nothing—the sightless abyss of all that which separates me from the Creative Source which I call Lord. This, in medieval phrase, is the harrowing of hell—the dark night of the mystics; the sort of death which, according to the narratives and symbology of the New Testament, must precede even the first of our definitive intimations of resurrection.

It is clear that we cannot demand such a journey of anyone else; we cannot even—out of any self we can grasp or control—*demand* it of ourselves, though we can begin to let it happen. For this reason we have the obligation to state openly the direction in which the logic of *both-and* leads. Otherwise, in proposing this "third

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choice," we are deceiving ourselves and others by offering, as the *religious* choice, an option which those unmeditated forms of moral relativism most available in our time have already made possible at far less expense.

Those of us at odds with this encyclical are in especial danger of deceiving *ourselves* if we will not acknowledge that we, too, have tended to see evil as "out there," in "them," a tendency which has manifested itself in the extent to which the issue of birth control has become for us in the past five years the focus and symbol of all our regrets about the past and our anxieties about the future of Christianity. And we shall have to accuse ourselves of using and deceiving others if we don't acknowledge that the presence, in that tendency, of an insistent "will to win" has made the Pope's task more difficult, given the specific issue of birth control a disproportionate emphasis and thus had the effect of pressing a crisis upon many not otherwise disposed to experience one. We are not, in fact, free from the guilt of having made this single issue bear the whole weight of the perennial problem Dostoevsky analyzes in "The Grand Inquisitor," a problem which neither ecclesiastical nor political man has been able to solve: how to lead men out of their subjection to the collective and into fuller possession of their unknown individuality; how to prompt in them the sort of inner freedom and graciousness which can only issue from their living in more conscious and reverential contact with the hidden and beneficent irrationality within themselves which they fear and thus —as our political experience amply illustrates—fasten upon enemies external to themselves.

In this perspective, we must finally allow that, though we may dispute their individual judgments, it is at least a part of the traditional, instinctive wisdom of the Popes that they first command conformity and, only within the framework of such "constant firmness of . . . authority," an authority which provides the individual with some assured landmarks, do they propose an undertaking of the sort of inward journey involved in living the real but doubly hazardous logic of the "third choice." Though the analogy admittedly does not hold in every respect, the history of civil liberties, and especially of political dissent, in the United States would indicate that most men acknowledge the wisdom—rather fewer see the dangers—inherent in such a conception and exercise of authority.

The Problem of Dogma

It is liberating to recall, too, that the question of "definition of dogma" is itself a vexed one. The scholars will tell us that it is a difficult matter to decide what the Church has or has not defined, *stricte dicta*. And the whole question, so long conceived of in rather juridical, non-historical categories, is undergoing—has in fact been undergoing at least since the mid-nineteenth century—re-examination. We have belated evidence of this in the adoption by Vatican II of a non-juridical mode in its statements. This development—a result of the modern historical consciousness, a consciousness scarcely possible before the nineteenth century and itself a major change in sensibility—has brought about a critically conscious recovery of the classical Christian mode of "definition of dogma," the confession or creed in which, as in the preaching of Peter, Stephen and Paul in *Acts*, the Church "professed" or witnessed to its faith in a semi-narrative mode ("salvation history") derived from Old Testament and Jewish liturgical formulations of "the mighty deeds of Yahweh" for his people.

The adverse response to this encyclical, then, is merely belated witness to such a change in moral sensibility, a change which the majority report of the advisory Commission adequately articulated. This response is a manifestation of the consciousness first registered on a large scale in the Reformation Era and subsequently at the time of the *Syllabus* and the later Modernist controversy—a consciousness that the "good news" can be distorted, obscured and made less accessible by the almost inevitable human tendency to canonize the language, categories and limited moral wisdom of particular phases of human consciousness, human social order and Christian experience. In dogma, this limiting of the re-creative power of the Message has most often come about through such an absolutizing of language and categories. Whatever the conscious motive, the result in each instance has been the excluding of other possible means of access to the Symbols of faith. In morals, the most frequent failure has been precisely to assume that moral sensibility is unchanging.

Yet, the many for whom Pope Paul's "necessary things" will seem unreasonably proscriptive ought to be able, at the same time, to acknowledge that he is addressing himself to a very central issue: "In defending conjugal morals in their integral wholeness, the Church knows that she contributed toward the establishment of a truly human civilization." In face of the growing attitude that "it is the prerogative of the human intellect to dominate the energies offered by irrational nature," the Church "engages man not to abdicate his responsibility in order to rely on technical means." We ought not allow ourselves to be so intimated by our myths of science and progress as to be unable to recognize that, in such formultions, it is the same basic religious attitude toward life which is being reaffirmed. The danger to which the Pope refers seems to me *our* distinctive "temptation in the wilderness"—our secret, obscene urge to rationalize, mechanize and control the very springs and hidden sources of life in us; to achieve, if possible, even a "mechanical operation of the spirit" through chemicals and electricity. In this respect the present encyclical is, as we ought not be too distressed to acknowledge, an admirably courageous document, one which ought to be meditated

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more deeply than it is likely to be in the present crisis. It sets itself adamantly against our scientific form of the radically irreligious impulse to control life itself from within, an impulse the more powerful in us because of our technical means and the more insidious because of our allegiance to the scientific ethos and our casual inadvertence to its implications. Over against this life-defiling impulse the encyclical sets the most basic attitude and experience of the religious consciousness—that life is gift, springing up within us unbidden from the Source. Though it has often sinned against this wisdom by its actions and obscured it by its formulations, the Church has never finally betrayed it, as this encyclical itself witnesses.

If part of our response to the encyclical is that a humanly sensitive and responsible control of fertility honors inner, impersonal values, we can still acknowledge the deep and essential sanity of a statement which helps keep alive in us the sense that, when we have achieved the technical means of tampering with the very forces which direct the rhythms of our life, we are indeed exposed to a hubris and a triviality potentially destructive of those same values. It is already a large part of our consciousness about ourselves that we are very like machines; if biology is able to pursue its present explorations to their theoretical limits, we may actually try once again, as in August 1945, to "see if it works." And we ought to be able to see, too, that the Pope's language is *symbolically* sound—as was that of his recent creed.

When Pius IX's Munich Brief, a presage of the *Syllabus of Errors*, was released in March 1864, Lord Acton felt it necessary to cease publication of the *Home and Foreign Review*, the critical journal which he had—with encouragement and occasional contributions from Newman—published for seven years. As we reflect on our present distress, our misgivings of conscience and the possibilities of thought and action for ourselves, the following lines from Acton's valedictory editorial might well serve as a touchstone of balance and sanity:

> In these circumstances there are two courses of action which it is possible to take. It would be wrong to abandon principles which have been well considered and are sincerely held, and it would be wrong to assail the authority which contradicts them. The principles have not ceased to be true, nor the authority to be legitimate, because the two are in contradiction. To submit the intellect and conscience without examining the reasoning and justice of this decree, or to reject the authority on the ground of its having been abused, would equally be a sin, on one side against morals, on the other against faith. The conscience cannot be relieved by casting on administrators of ecclesiastical discipline the whole responsibility of preserving religious truth; nor can it be emancipated by a virtual apostasy. ("Conflicts with Rome")

We should, I think, take our own history more seriously—let it operate upon our distress and our anger, justified or self-righteous, upon our misgivings and above all upon the very categories which have intensified these first reactions. If we consider Baron Von Hügel during the Modernist controversy, Acton and Newman at the time of the *Syllabus*, Erasmus and More during the Reformation, or Catherine of Siena during the Great Schism—all of whom had the temerity to accuse the Church of infidelity—our situation will seem neither unique nor hopeless. In reflecting on that situation we ought to keep in mind, too, one of the most moving moments in the Gospel, that in which Jesus, Messiah and Lord, wept over Jerusalem, holy city of the prophets, because of its infidelity. He wept—but he did not flee the city.

This thought will drive us deeper within ourselves, so that thought and action can issue from that depth in which "the Spirit himself bears witness with our spirit" (Rom. 8, 16).

'The Pope has taught a bad morality'

AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL

DANIEL CALLAHAN

A few months ago I played with the idea of writing an imaginary papal encyclical. Its aim was to have shown how the Pope might affirm the "traditional" teaching on contraception in all its force while, at the same time, doing so in such a way as to impress and astound everyone. In my imaginary encyclical, the Pope would have done three things:

(1) He would have reaffirmed the birth control teachings of *Casti Connubii*, but he would also have made some announcements of ways in which he intended to show his seriousness. He would have stated that all of the Vatican art treasures were to be sold in order to establish a large fund to aid the feeding of the poor. He would have ordered all pastors throughout the world to cease building

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churches and schools and, instead, to devote their financial resources to helping needy families. Toward the same end, he would have ordered the Bishops, including those in the Vatican, to rid themselves of all Church investments, stocks, bonds and income-producing property. He himself would have announced that he was moving out of the Vatican and intended to spend the rest of his papal days living in a Calcutta slum.

(2) He would have flatly condemned the Vietnamese war, urging all Catholics to refuse military service and support of the war. In the same breath he would have said that all nuclear stockpiles should immediately be destroyed and that no Catholic ought support a government which relied in any way upon nuclear weapons for defense. The Pope would have said these steps were necessary for the "protection of human life."

(3) Finally, the Pope would have praised student rebels in the universities of the world, commended Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael and the concept of "black power," ordered Cardinal McIntyre to resign for having hindered racial justice in Los Angeles, exalted the Berrigan brothers for their prophetic witness, and, in his footnotes, cited Herbert Marcuse, Fritz Fanon, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

My theory, in this fanciful encyclical, was that if the Pope was to successfully condemn contraception he would have to do so in the most prophetic manner possible, risking so much of the Church's financial security, community standing and bourgeois support that no one could fail to take him seriously. Even the most ardent lover of contraception would have been stunned and might have been shaken enough to reconsider his position.

The Pope seems to have written a somewhat different encyclical. I won't bother mentioning all the defective arguments in it; others have already done that, and very effectively. What I find striking is that the encyclical, by its omissions, perpetuates one of the great immoralities of the magisterium's stance on contraception. It does not show any practical willingness to make the Church's wealth fully available to those who suffer as a consequence of its teachings; it offers them only a vague spiritual consolation, nice words. The Catholic parish has never felt a communal obligation to give full support to large families; and rarely has it done so. The papacy has used none of its money to support the scientific research in rhythm the Pope calls for; nothing in the encyclical suggests it intends to do so now. The bishops of the world have never given any financial priority whatsoever to problems of overpopulation and the economic requirements of underdeveloped countries. Compared with its interest in the preservation of Church property, the maintenance of authority, the building of schools and churches, the magisterium's interest in poverty, family life and human dignity has been almost entirely verbal. In America, the bishops have a large and effective propaganda machine designed to protect the Church's tax-free status and to work for federal and state school funds; on race, poverty and war, they are generally content to issue statements.

In short, the magisterium—popes and bishops—has let the practical burdens fostered by their moral teachings fall exclusively on others, urging them to make radical sacrifices of a kind it is clearly not prepared to make itself. Hypocrisy is one word appropriate here; immorality is even better. Neither the Pope nor those bishops who have supported the encyclicals have given the slightest indication that they intend to give up anything of their own security commensurate with what a poor family, trying to make do on rhythm or abstinence, would have to give up to follow their teaching. The magisterium strikes the rhetorical pose of the prophet and the bodily pose of the self-righteous rich man who feels no compulsion to put his own house in order.

The question now is: what is to be done? It is not, I think, adequate to simply say that everyone should follow his own conscience and thus reject the encyclical if his conscience so directs. If one takes seriously all the good reasons in favor of a use of contraceptives—if one, say, follows the thinking of the majority of the papal commission—then it is not merely a neutral matter. On the contrary, there is an obligation on the part of those Catholics who perceive the morality of contraception to positively foster and propagate their convictions. This means doing everything in their power to educate people in the valid use of contraceptives. It means making money available to the poor for the purchase of contraceptives. It means convincing governments that they should listen to the voice of the Catholic people and not to the voice of the Pope on this issue. It means doing everything possible to negate and repudiate the encyclical, putting in its place a very different teaching.

People should of course be free to follow their conscience. But there is much sense in the traditional corollary that they should have an informed conscience; a lot of mischief is done in the name of conscience. In this instance those opposed to the encyclical would seem to have the positive duty of trying to inform the consciences of those who might feel an obligation to follow it: to inform them that they should know all the good theological arguments in favor of contraception; to inform them that they cannot cast off the obligation of making up their own minds on the shoulders of popes and bishops; to inform them that it is possible that good morality might require that they use contraceptives.

Though much has changed in recent years, the attitude of many Catholics toward the papacy is still one of unthinking subservience and obedience. When they are told these days to "follow their conscience" this will be tantamount to telling them to obey the Pope; for that, and only that, is what following their conscience means to them. Very strenuous efforts will be needed to crack this mold. The people must be given a real choice and

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this means, in great part, so breaking the hold of the papacy on them that they can rationally and judiciously weigh the alternatives before them. One would not in the face of a people's temptation to resort to genocide, racism, the killing of the old and the weak, just tell them to do as they saw fit. One would argue against them, try to point out the dangers of their temptation. The same should be done with those tempted to unthinkingly follow the pope's encyclical.

What will this do to the authority of the papacy? Assuming the problematic, that the papacy still has authority, it will force the papacy (and the bishops) to argue back, to refine its own reasons, to take account of its critics. It will force the magisterium to expose itself. As already noted, there remain many millions of Catholics who do take the Pope's words as binding. The Pope has in his encyclical seriously misled them; he has taught them a bad morality. The only way they are likely to see this for themselves is to see the papacy pushed to the wall, forced to argue its position more fully, and thus forced to show the weakness of its moral teaching.

Those Catholics now tempted to leave the Church should remember how many others will stay and feel bound by the encyclical, how many will unnecessarily suffer, how many families and children will feel the consequences. To leave these people, to walk out on them, would not be right. As Christians and as Catholics they will need help and education. Only their fellow Catholics are likely to be in a good position to speak persuasively to them and to offer them the assistance of a sensitive Christian community. In its own utterly wrong way the Pope's encyclical is beautiful: rounded, ringing and resonant. It seems to me now the obligation of the Catholic community to come up with, and publicize, a wiser and more correct teaching, equally rounded, ringing and resonant. The formation of the position will not be difficult; the ingredients are already present, nearly complete. The real work will come in publicizing it: the work of speaking against the present encyclical, the work of withstanding authority, the work of moral education. This is no time to leave the Church, but a time to make it what it should be. Perhaps, just perhaps, the Pope will be caught up in this work as well.

Finally, some immediate, practical steps: (1) paid publication of majority papal commission report in local secular papers; few Catholics have actually read it. (2) Petitions, not to Rome, but to the U.S. government to step up family planning programs. (3) Letters and visits to parish priests to urge them, in their confessional counseling, to support a moral use of contraceptives.

A time of crisis should be a time of learning

THE TROUBLING SPIRIT

WILLIAM CLANCY

"But still we have a wisdom to offer those who have reached maturity: not a philosophy of our age, it is true, still less of the masters of our age. . . . We teach what scripture calls 'the things that no eye has seen and no ear has heard, things beyond the mind of man, all that God has prepared for those who love him.'"

I Corinthians. Chapter 2

The crisis and, one must say, the agony into which the Church has entered since Pope Paul VI issued *Humanae Vitae* are not, of course, about birth control. The birth control question is merely the catalyst that has forced us to face polarities and problems that have been growing in the Church since the beginnings of Vatican II. The real crisis is one of authority and freedom, and the agony it brings with it is shared by those who think they must now defend one of these values against the other, and those many more who are tragically torn between the two.

If the time of troubles now upon us is to be a time for growth, through the Spirit, in the Church, this real crisis and the shared quality of its agony must be quickly grasped. For though the birth control "debate" within the Church as we know it has indeed ended, our crisis has just begun. It will finally work to the good of the Church only if we recognize that the agony it brings with it *is* shared by men who oppose each other out of an equal love for the Church.

What we see in the Church today are the beginnings of a drama that has been played out in civil societies for the past 160 years—since the French Revolution, at least. The claims of authority versus the rights of individual conscience; the necessity for continuity versus the need for change; the demands of order versus the expression of freedom: these have been the great conflicts, the great polarities, of modern societies, and they have finally invaded the Church. That we kept them out for so long was a miracle of our ancient stability that could not endure forever. Our peace has seemed increasingly unreal, and our crisis was bound to come.

But if we in the Church can learn from other crises of

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authority and freedom that have been lived out in modern secular societies, we must know that the way to tragedy and disaster lies precisely in the failure of opposing parties to recognize their shared and bedrock concerns, their shared loyalty and love, even in the midst of their disagreements. In civil society values seemingly opposed must be held together in tension, and so too in the Church. Tyranny or chaos—the dissolution of society itself—are invited when the defenders of a particular value see the defenders of an "opposed" value as The Enemy and seek the future of society only through the total triumph of their own cause.

What has been emerging in the Church in this decade, and is now fully in view, is a situation that reminds us of these things. If in the crisis now upon us the defenders of "authority" see dissent from the conclusions of *Humanae Vitae* as disloyalty and subversion, and spokesmen for a new Christian "freedom" view defenders of the magisterium as simply obscurantist or "irrelevant," then all possibility of creative tension is ended and the stage for schism is set. "Betrayal of the Church" in the present crisis will be precisely by those, on either side, who seek further to polarize opinion and thus close themselves to the possibility of the Spirit's working through a time of trouble to bring forth a new synthesis of values.

The crisis that now seizes us has, of course, been smoldering for over a century, waiting its historical moment to erupt. Only those lacking a sense of history could think it was "caused" by the birth control controversy or would disappear were all Catholics docilely to accept the conclusions of *Humanae Vitae*. A hundred years ago, in the great Ultramontane-Liberal Catholic struggles of the mid-nineteenth century, the outline of our unresolved conflict was composed. William George Ward wrote in 1869 that the test of Catholic loyalty was "to live as it were in an atmosphere of authority; to look for direction at every moment towards the Church and towards the Vicar of Christ." But John Henry Newman, who was horrified by such views, after he had been made a Cardinal offered his famous reply to a toast to the Pope: "I drink to the Pope—but I drink to Conscience first."

Newman knew that the dichotomy between authority and freedom posed by Ultramontanes was a false one, and that the hope of Catholicism for the future lay in the creation of new relationships between them. Such a creation he knew would be painful—and made even more painful than it need be by "party men." But he looked to theologians who would refuse to join any party and who, aware of historical and theological complexities, seek new understandings of the proper roles and limits of both authority and freedom—gifts that must always coexist in tension within the Church. And such is now clearly the task of all who wish to serve the needs not of a party nor of an immediate moment but who seek the evolution of a new *Catholic* synthesis of values.

In 1867 the aging Newman wrote to Ward from the Birmingham Oratory: "You are making a Church within a Church, as the Novatians of old did within the Catholic pale, and as, outside the Catholic pale, the Evangelicals of the Establishment. As they talk of 'vital religion' and vital 'doctrines' and will not allow that their brethren 'know the Gospel' or are Gospel preachers, unless they profess the small shibboleths of their own sect, so you are doing your best to make a party in the Catholic Church, and in St. Paul's words are dividing Christ by exalting your opinions into Dogmas."

Sectarianism is a narrow and limited response to immediate and short-term problems. Lacking any sense of history or of complexity, it may achieve certain quick victories and answer certain felt needs, but it soon is lost and forgotten in the boundless oceans of time. It thus stands as the eternal enemy of any genuine Catholicism which, of its very nature, is universal, long-range, and complex. And the sectarianism of "party men" is what threatens the Church—the *Catholic* Church—today. Those who see the present crisis in simple terms of *either* authority or freedom—not realizing that the very nature of the crisis demands new understandings and limits for both authority and freedom within the Church—are sectarians. From them and from their fervors may God deliver us.

It is somewhat worse than pointless, for example, for defenders of the magisterium to demand acceptance of all the conclusions of *Humanae Vitae* in the name of authority when authority, its exercise and its limits, is precisely the question, along with the question of the exercise and limits of freedom, that must now be reconsidered in the Church. And it is somewhat worse than irresponsible for defenders of freedom to argue as though freedom were a value that exists within the Church in splendid isolation, unrelated to the nature and functions of the magisterium.

A time of crisis should be a time of learning—and this, perhaps, is an historic moment when the learning Church and the teaching Church can meet in a radically new encounter, There must be authority in the Church; but how simple is it and how complex? How single and how multiple? How centered and how diverse? From whom and from what does the teaching Church learn, and what does it learn? Who and what must it consult —what kind of consensus must it discover—before it can function as the teaching Church, and then what are the limits to what it can teach with an authority binding on all the People of God? Those things delivered unto it "that no eye has seen and no ear heard, things beyond the mind of man, all that God has prepared for those who love him": surely and infallibly it can and must teach these things. But the philosophy of this or any other age? Or politics or economics? Or individual moral choice, beyond the statement of general principles?

These are questions we must finally and honestly face,

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all the time holding multiple values in focus, confident that the Spirit works in the Church even in a time of acrimony, confusion and pain—indeed, that our present trouble may be the Spirit's movement bringing to birth new things in the Church. For the Spirit is a troubling Spirit and He shakes us from easy securities to see that the path of the Church through history is a pilgrim's way.

The whole direction of modern thought and culture, for example, has been toward limiting areas of authority and extending areas of freedom. It is the process Bonhoeffer identified as "the coming of age of humanity." Vast parts of human life once regarded as provinces for the exercise of paternal direction by the Church or by the State are now accepted as the proper domain of an individual's conscience. Thus has man's hard-won dignity as a *choosing* being been achieved. The Church, no more than any civil society, can escape from this direction, nor can the Church fail forever to reconsider her traditional understanding of the limits of her authority in light of this earned experience of the race.

And yet, having said this, we must say at the same time that authority within the Church is a gift, divinely granted and not able to be humanly revoked. To bring these truths together in new understandings, and in charity, is the task to which we are called today in the Church. We have avoided this task for too long. But the questions of authority and freedom in the Church can never be thought of again as they were before July, 1968. This, in God's plan, may be the indispensable service rendered to the Church by *Humanae Vitae*.

THE THEOLOGIANS' RETORT

The following represents the major portion of a statement on the Pope's birth control encyclical signed by over 200 American Catholic theologians.

As Roman Catholic theologians we respectfully acknowledge a distinct role of hierarchical magisterium in the Church of Christ. At the same time Christian tradition assigns theologians the special responsibility of evaluating and interpreting pronouncements of the magisterium in the light of the total theological data operative in each question or statement. We offer these initial comments on Pope Paul's VI's encyclical on the regulation of birth.

Many positive values concerning marriage are expressed. . . . However, we take exception to the ecclesiology implied and the methodology used by Paul VI in the writing and promulgation of the document: They are incompatible with the Church's authentic self-awareness as expressed in and suggested by the acts of the Second Vatican Council itself. The encyclical consistently assumes that the Church is identical with the hierarchical office. No real importance is afforded the witness of the life of the Church in its totality; the special witness of many Catholic couples is neglected; it fails to acknowledge the witness of the separated Christian churches and ecclesial communities. . . . Furthermore, the encyclical betrays a narrow and positivistic notion of papal authority, as illustrated by the rejection of the majority view presented by the commission established to consider the question, as well as by the rejection of the conclusions of a large part of the international Catholic theological community.

Likewise, we take exception to some of the specific ethical conclusions contained in the encyclical. They are based on an inadequate concept of natural law: the multiple forms of natural law theory are ignored and the fact that competent philosophers come to different conclusions on this very question is disregarded. . . . Other defects include: overemphasis on the biological aspects of conjugal relations as ethically normative; undue stress on sexual acts and on the faculty of sex viewed in itself apart from the person and couple; a static world view which downplays the historical and evolutionary character of humanity in its finite existence, . . .; unfounded assumptions about "the evil consequences of methods of artificial birth control; indifference to the Second Vatican Council's assertion that prolonged sexual abstinence may cause "faithfulness to be imperiled and its quality of fruitfulness to be ruined"; an almost total disregard for the dignity of millions of human beings brought into the world without the slightest possibility of being fed and educated decently.

In actual fact, the encyclical demonstrates no development over the teaching of Pius XI's *Casti Connubii*, whose conclusions have been called into question for grave and serious reasons. These reasons, given a muffled voice at Vatican II, have not been adequately handled by the mere repetition of past teaching.

It is common teaching in the Church that Catholics may dissent from authoritative, non-infallible teachings of the magisterium when sufficient reasons for so doing exist. Therefore, as Roman Catholic theologians, conscious of our duty and our limitations, we conclude that spouses may responsibly decide according to their conscience that artificial contraception in some circumstances is permissible and indeed necessary to preserve and foster the values and sacredness of marriage.

It is our conviction also that true commitment to the mystery of Christ and the Church requires a candid statement of mind at this time by all Catholic theologians.

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UPPSALA

Joining socio-economic and moral perspectives

IN A NEW KEY

BRIAN A. HAGGERTY

For two and a half weeks in July, the Swedish university town of Uppsala, 45 miles north of Stockholm, hosted some 2,000 people, gathered under the auspices of the World Council of Churches Fourth General Assembly to work out the implications of Rev 21:5: "Behold, I make all things new." Uppsala's relative geographical remoteness only partially accounts for its unlikelihood as a center of ecumenical attention. Historically, Sweden has hardly been in the ecumenical avant-garde. The majority of Swedes—anywhere from 95-98% of an estimated population of 7,900,000—are members of the Lutheran State Church. However, all Swedish citizens are members of the State Church unless they are born of parents who do not belong or unless they themselves have withdrawn, a procedure which was made legal only in 1951. Until as late as 1860, conversion to Roman Catholicism could bring with it exile and loss of property. Religious tolerance, something far short of the goal of the ecumenical movement, became a constitutional principle for foreigners in 1809, but even then waited at least a century before full implementation began.

Though the recent official establishment in Sweden of religious liberty can be taken as a sign of great progress, it may be one which few care to read. A rather small minority of Swedes participate regularly in church life. In fact, what is happening in Sweden may be little different than what has already taken place among many of her Scandinavian and European neighbors. It is not so much systematic atheism as a lukewarmness toward organized religion.

In the final analysis the seeming paradox of a church gathering in Uppsala dedicated to an ecumenical renewal of the churches may be quite apt. From the time of the World Council of Churches' first general assembly at Amsterdam in 1948, the ecumenical movement has progressed greatly. Two subsequent assemblies in Evanston (1954) and New Delhi (1961) witnessed the addition of member churches, a gradual movement toward theological consensus and the increasing ability of the member churches to work together on common projects. Uppsala should have been no different. More churches than ever before were represented—about 230 in all; theological consensus, always a slow and painful process, had at least not regressed; the churches had learned to cooperate in such areas as philanthropy, social and international affairs. A source of particular satisfaction during the period between the New Delhi Assembly and the one at Uppsala was the adoption of the "De Oecumenismo" decree by the Second Vatican Council. The implications of this decree were made clear by the establishment in 1965 of the Roman Catholic-WCC Joint Working Group as well as by the start of another combined venture, the Exploratory Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) in 1967. In sum, all indications seemed to be bright—at least within the well-defined limits of ecumenical endeavor.

Outside, however, things were not quite the same. The Vietnam war dragged on, causing untold destruction of human life and property as well as weakening the moral fiber of a great nation and throwing its whole democratic process into question. Terrorism or resistance, depending on one's point of view, kept tension in the Middle East at a fever pitch and demonstrated the inability of the United Nations to arbitrate an effective peace; student rebellion rocked five European governments but then led to a re-affirmation of the status quo and mass acceptance of sclerotic forms of rule; Biafrans reportedly

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starved to death by the thousands; racial conflicts heightened around the globe, as the most influential voice of non-violence was brutally silenced; the rich white nations of the world stood by as more than 300 million children suffered from gross physical retardation due to a lack of protein and calories. In a world for the first time capable of eliminating disease, illiteracy and hunger, the possible had failed to become the morally imperative.

The Chasm between Rich and Poor

From the beginning of the Uppsala Assembly, the participants were "worked over" by various media—the pop art of Sister Corita, the songs of Pete Seeger, films from various countries, drama and art from Scandinavia, as well as the spoken and written word which still dominates such gatherings. All were intended to "condition" them for their subsequent work in various sections. The Assembly participants debated over the Holy Spirit and the catholicity of the Church, renewal in mission, world economic and social development, justice and peace in international affairs, the worship of God in a secular age and new styles of living. Whether or not the delegates of member churches were equal to the Assembly agenda cannot yet be determined. Nor can the lasting results of the Assembly as yet be charted, but perhaps some of its directions can.

If any issue emerged as a central topic, dominating some sections and threading its way through most others, it was development. In fact, it was less a case of emergence than of inheritance, for much of what was said on this broad topic had already been said earlier at the World Conference on Church and Society held in Geneva in July, 1966, and at the April, 1968, Beirut Conference on World Cooperation for Development jointly sponsored by the WCC and the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace. The basic difference is that earlier conferences were made up of committees of experts serving the churches as advisors, while the Uppsala Assembly was the ultimate decision-making body of an organization formed to express the common mind of the churches on contemporary moral and spiritual issues. Thus, it was not at all, as youth participants repeatedly pointed out, that new study and action documents were needed, but that the member churches had to be brought more effectively to action on problems increasingly charged with a sense of urgency.

Geneva had prepared western and northern participants for the resentment of the "third world" against the rich white nations. But the fear that time is running out was at least as evident at Uppsala as it had been at Geneva. In slow, measured terms not meant to evoke enthusiastic applause but to impress upon his audience the sober realities of the contemporary situation, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told the Assembly that the "present disparity between the rich North and the poor South . . . is a threat if not already a danger, to the peace and stability of the world." Kaunda deplored the fact that his people had been the nearly defenseless victims of the "get rich quick" policies practiced by most foreign-owned and foreign-based companies and banks and fostered by international structures regulating the imbalance of trade and wealth among nations. Kaunda was not alone in his analysis that there are no indications that the developed countries are willing to help fill in the riches-poverty chasm. His view was shared by speakers from both sides of the North-South curtain.

Yet, Barbara Ward, one of several Roman Catholic guests at the Assembly, saw possibilities more than adequate to meet current needs. Following President Kaunda's hour-long address, she set aside her prepared 16-page text and treated her audience to a crash course in Keynesian macro-economics, a virtuoso performance whose content and rapidity of delivery caused the interpreters measureless grief. As she has on previous occasions, Miss Ward advocated for a start a one-percent tax on the Gross National Product of rich countries for foreign aid

'The Pope Should Have Been Here'

Leaving Uppsala Cathedral after the closing worship service of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, I fell into step with one of the delegate-observers from Rome. "The Pope should have been here," he kept repeating, "The Pope should have been here." This made a rather neat closing parenthesis to my arrival in Sweden three weeks earlier, when reporters were buttonholing World Council officials for comments on the papal credo, asking particularly whether they considered it to be, in part, directed against the ecumenical movement.

The reality of Vatican-World Council relationship falls somewhat between these two extremes but by the close of the Fourth Assembly their relations had been strengthened and advanced rather more than the most optimistic predictions prior to its opening. Not only had Roman Catholics been elected to such bodies as the Faith and Order Commission (dealing with theological questions) and other WCC groups, but also a projected joint development program of the World Council and the Pontifical Commission on Peace and Justice had been endorsed by the delegates. Most important, perhaps, the whole question of membership of the Roman Catholic Church in the World Council had entered a new phase.

Before Uppsala, both Geneva and Rome had taken a cautious approach to this question. Technically possible but pastorally inadvisable was the official line. In the

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and re-negotiation of prices in order to strengthen the bargaining positions of developing nations. There seemed no doubt in her mind that the world "situation of imbalance" could be rather easily righted. However, her optimism was not entirely contagious.

Subsequently, Professor Samuel L. Parmar, Economics Professor at Allahabad University, India, noted the "skepticism, if not open distrust" with which the developing nations look upon the rich nations' affirmations of good will. He questioned the adequacy of political and economic structures both in the Third World countries and among the rich nations to solve present-day needs. Therefore Prof. Parmar was not overenthusiastic about 1% of GNP as aid or about similar specific measures. He cautioned that "unless a number of supporting steps are taken to re-shape international economic structures, the transfer of 1% of GNP from rich to poor nations may be self-defeating." His espousal of "development with international cooperation, if possible, without it if necessary" seemed akin to the "independent politics" or even separatism advocated by some black Americans.

On the next to last day of the Assembly, in an unofficial press conference held with Margaret Mead and Gunnar Myrdal, Fr. Paul Verghese, Principal of the Syrian Orthodox Theological Seminary in Kottayam, India, summed up this feeling: "We have no confidence in the motivation of any of the developed countries." He also added a qualifying note to the Assembly's discussion of development. He pointed out that there are not simply "developed" and developing" countries; these terms must be more properly nuanced. He preferred to speak of developed countries under the sway of American, West European or East European economic power. Developing countries, too, he asserted, cannot simply be lumped together but must be approached according to their individual or regional strengths or weaknesses. For Margaret Mead, too, facile categorizing of nations leads only to "empty political statements."

Underlying the whole discussion of strategies and tactics was the agreement that the churches should be involved. Both President Kaunda and Prof. Parmar insisted that the world faces a moral issue, and urged that the

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first official speech made to a World Council Assembly by a Roman Catholic, Father Roberto Tucci, editor of *Civilta Cattolica,* chose to ignore that line and express his personal wish (buttressed by quotes from officials of the Secretariat for Christian Unity) for Roman membership. Despite remonstrances from such men as Father Jerome Hamer, O.P., that working together is more important than a juridical question of membership, the discussion is now inevitably centered on a search for a formula by which Rome can formally enter the World Council without swamping it by its sheer size. Suggestions include membership by national episcopal conferences or some form of bicameralism in which the WCC would be related to both world bodies and to national churches. Tucked away in committee reports and almost overlooked were specific suggestions for cooperation such as that the next International Congress on the Lay Apostolate be a joint meeting. (This was put forward in response to a Roman suggestion.)

The major emphasis at Uppsala was on facing the problems of the world, in particular the gap between the rich white nations and the underdeveloped third world. Zambia's president, Kenneth Kaunda, stated the frustrations of the latter, Barbara Ward delivered her fervent sermon on economic cooperation, and James Baldwin presented his eloquent indictment of white racism. This emphasis reflected many ideas which came out of the 1966 Geneva Conference on Church and Society and the activist approach of WCC General Secretary Eugene Carson Blake. It also indicated the presently quiescent state of ecumenical theology, which has been further slowed down by the need to come to grips with the thought of Eastern Orthodoxy.

This was the first WCC Assembly where the whole range of Orthodoxy was present in large numbers. The assembly itself was larger than ever before and its size revealed many deficiencies in the present system of doing things. So many people trying to discuss so many things (and produce documents in so short a time) inevitably produced frustrations. The whole system is too Western in style, too much dominated by the use of the English language, to be workable much longer. A major restudy of the nature and composition of the gathering is urgently required before the next Assembly of the World Council meets.

American intervention in Vietnam was implicitly condemned by the Assembly in a statement calling for a cessation of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and cessation of hostilities by both sides. Since this represented the feelings of most Americans present, what little opposition there was came largely from Koreans, Filipinos and Norwegians. Other resolutions on Nigeria-Biafra and the Middle East were less useful. The Nigerian conflict was the subject of particularly bitter wrangling and moral compromise, demonstrating once again that prophecy in international affairs is no easy task. The Russian-Czech confrontation, taking place during the Assembly, was never formally brought to the floor.

In summary, the Assembly might be said to have been mainly a ratification of existing commitments (world development) or an anticipation of future events (possible Roman Catholic membership) rather than an initiator of new directions. Its true effect can only be seen by the success or failure of the ideas and programs it has chosen to emphasize. Maybe the Pope will be there next time.

ARTHUR J. MOORE

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peoples of the developing world take their stand not as "beggars seeking alms," but as "participants, bricklayers engaged in this great enterprise of making the world a better and more decent place to live in." Prof. Parmar's central point summarized clearly the feelings of the developing countries: "The third world does not want charity, it wants justice."

Return to Politics

The link between development considered as the preserve of social and economic policy and development as a moral issue, as it was largely treated at Uppsala, is, ultimately, the political action of both individual Christians and the churches. As one of the participants, M. M. Thomas, a layman and director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society in Bangalore, India, remarked, "a return to God should mean a return to politics." Current attempts by continental theologians, such as Fr. J. B. Metz, to articulate a political theology or ethic signal first attempts to enter this somewhat unexplored terrain. However, the prepared text of Barbara Ward's address eliminated any possibility of misunderstanding the practical implications of such a move: "In every wealthy country, we [Christians] are a minority large enough, if organized, to make a political impact, to worry legislators, to swing elections . . ." The qualifying "if" brings the churches squarely into the picture. Similarly the Beirut Report points out the special assets which the churches have in seeking to contribute to development: "The task reflects their basic teachings; their institutional character permits commitment to the necessary long-term program; they have direct contact with their membership for mobilizing action and support; and the churches serve in both the advanced and developing countries."

Should the churches decide to act upon the consensus reached at Uppsala, it would not be the first time they have become involved in politics. It might, however, represent political involvement in a considerably different key, for whether consciously or not, the inaction of the churches has long involved them in political life by contributing massively to the support of the status quo.

A decision to join the two perspectives, socio-economic and moral, by political action may also sound the opening bars of ecumenism in a new key. What began to emerge at Geneva, a conference at which laymen predominated, held true at Uppsala, where approximately 70% of the participants were ordained: denominational alignments and confessional commitments no longer form the most potent barriers to unity. What divides or unites men is not so much the theological formulations of the Christian creed or the creed itself, but concerns which at first glance are of a social and economic nature. Divisions on the major issues of the day often cause greater gaps within individual denominations, traditions or churches than the confessional oppositions which have sundered Christian unity for centuries. For this reason a Methodist minister from Africa may feel closer to his Episcopalian counterpart from the same region than to fellow Methodists from the United States or Western Europe.

The emphasis placed at Uppsala upon issues traditionally considered outside the domain of the theological may point not so much to a new center of ecumenical interest as to a re-ordering of priorities. Ever since the Resurrection, theology has been rushing to catch up to reality. And there is no reason to think that theology in an ecumenical context should do otherwise. The text of the report on the Holy Spirit and the catholicity of the Church (which one Orthodox delegate described as "emasculated") may serve to caution against any future attempt at theology by committee apart from attempts to work out Christian solutions to issues such as those which dominated the Uppsala Assembly.

If the ecumenical movement among the churches does switch keys, it may sound resonating chords among those "post-ecumenical" Christians who address themselves to fundamental questions such as whether Christian existence is possible, whether religion is of any importance in the contemporary world, even whether the existence of God is a matter of concern. It may also capture the interest of those who have become disaffected with organized religion but not with life. Such a switch would also color one's interpretation of individual Assembly actions. For example, the Assembly resolutions opposing the war in Vietnam and those on the menacing situation in the Middle East represent more than a reaffirmation of statements made elsewhere. The critical stance of the Assembly's youth participants, whose effectiveness was unfortuantely blunted in the early stages by an inability to make their peace with Roberts' Rules of Order, is not merely another example of student power. The decision of the Assembly to launch an appeal for $3 million in addition to its current relief operations to alleviate famine and starvation caused by the Nigeria-Biafra conflict has further significance than the immediate concern and compassion for the suffering which prompted this action. The conclusion found in the Assembly document entitled "Towards Justice and Peace in International Affairs" that "racism is a blatant denial of the Christian faith" should be understood as something more than a Christian commonplace. Rather, each may be seen as an attempt to discover what the Church and church unity is all about today. Such actions concern themselves with the real divisions which separate rich from poor, East from West, young from old, the hungry from the well-fed and white from black. In this respect, they all represent fragments of a new reality upon which theology may validly cast a critical eye only after it has helped to unite and clarify them.

In this same light what was for many at the Assembly, especially the press, the single most newsworthy item,

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the growing rapprochement between the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church, may also take on a different hue. Uppsala undoubtedly advanced the rapprochement in practical matters. For the first time Roman Catholics, (including two Americans, Scripture scholar Fr. Raymond E. Brown, S.S., and Fr. Walter Burghardt, S.J., patristics expert and editor of *Theological Studies*) were named to the WCC's expanded Faith and Order Commission, a theological commission with relative independence within the WCC. Further, the Joint Working Group was given a wider mandate, and SODEPAX was elevated to the more permanent status of a joint committee. Still, as Bishop J. G. M. Willibrands, of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, pointed out, the ecumenical movement must resist the tendency to be satisfied with practical cooperation. "Our final hope and goal," he said, "is ecclesial unity." Yet the meaning of ecclesial union is not entirely clear at the moment. The direction taken at Uppsala may shed some light both on the nature of church unity and the means of arriving at it. Fr. Roberto Tucci, S.J., editor of *La Civilta Catolica,* seemed to have his finger on the pulse of the ecumenical movement when he quoted Fr. Karl Rahner in his address on what Catholics expected of the Assembly:

> All the Churches and Christian communities will not find the same language and a common confession unless—instead of first discussing their present doctrinal differences which originate in the past—they try to learn the new language of the future in which the Gospel of Christ must be proclaimed to the man of tomorrow (without any cheap concessions), so that he can really understand it.

After Uppsala it seems clear that the goal of ecumenism is an intermediate end which does not in itself justify the existence of the ecumenical movement. Uppsala gave some indications that the meaning of one Church in a world claiming to have come of age is being rethought. It remains for the churches to take the cue.

We must be more concerned about fertilizer for India than new hymnals for Portland

DELEGATE'S EYE-VIEW

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

While introducing the report of the Committee on Faith and Order, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin told a story about a passenger on a train bound for Dublin. The passenger was in a hurry, and the train went at a torturously slow speed, stopping interminably at station after station. Finally the passenger made his way up to the cab of the engine and accosted the engineer: "Can't you go any faster than this?" "Of course I can," responded the engineer, "but I have to stay with the engine."

The story encapsulates both the possibilities and the plight of a world assembly of Christians. The speed at Uppsala was often tantalizingly slow, and sometimes indeed not only was no forward motion discernible, but one had a sinking feeling of beginning to move in reverse. However, if one was willing "to stay with the engine," it was apparent at the end of 16 days, not only that there had been motion but that it was forward motion and motion in important, indeed new, directions.

Those who expected the assembly to take gigantic and rapid strides into the future probably brought a wrong set of expectations to Uppsala. I believe I was one of these, and in the course of the assembly I was forced to engage in a reshuffling of priorities. In retrospect, I believe that the assembly will be shown to have opened some new doors and perhaps to have opened them more decisively than was apparent while the assembly was in process. But it is important to realize that huge deliberative bodies, representing every spectrum of opinion within the Christian family (including, unofficially, the Roman Catholics) are not the engines of spectacular revolutionary change. They may, more than they know, be the architects of such change, but they are simply not equipped to leap far ahead of where the mass of their constituents are. They can, and do, take specific modest steps in new directions, and they can, and do, lay the groundwork for quite astounding possibilities of new directions. The former, of course, are immediately discernible, and become the initial journalistic gauge of measuring the "success" or "failure" of an assembly. But the latter are the more important, and it will be in the degree to which the member churches themselves follow up on the direction-signals Uppsala provided that its ultimate "success" or "failure" will be determined.

All this was driven home to me in the closing service in the cathedral—the most moving event of the entire assembly, and one I came very near skipping as I anticipated that it might simply be a ritualistic bit of formal corporate piety. But after hearing scripture-readings in five languages (always an awesome reminder of the breadth and scope of the gospel's impact), we were suddenly aware of a procession moving down the center aisle of the cathedral. And there came the youth partici-

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pants with picket signs, slowly, silently, row upon row of them, who when they got to the crossing in the cathedral deployed themselves throughout the nave and stood there silently facing us for the remainder of the service. On their signs were our words—excerpts from the things we had written in our brave verbalism: "Racism is a blatant denial of the Christian faith." "The longing for a just society is causing revolutions all over the world." "It is the duty of churches to challenge governments . . ." and so on. In a devastating and humbling way we were brought face to face with the questions the world addresses to the churches: "Do you really mean what you say? Are you good for more than words? Can we count on you to stand with us? Or will it be business as usual next week?"

I absorbed this pointed reminder from the youth participants (whose constant prophetic presence helped to keep the delegates more honest than we might otherwise have been) deeply conscious of the fact that I was sitting between a black South African and a missionary from Indonesia. These friends symbolized for me the two groups that have least cause to believe the promises of the white churches of the West—the victims of racism, and the victims of economic exploitation in the "third world." And it is difficult to feel very proud of the church when one absorbs the reproach that the mere presence of the victims of our exploitation engenders.

So the pressure will now be upon the member churches to see whether the words of Uppsala become more than words. For if the member churches should take seriously even a tenth of the commitments they exacted from themselves, concern for victims of racism and economic exploitation, Uppsala would be the biggest act of renewal in Christian history since, say, Pentecost. They will not, of course, rise to such heights, and any possible assessment will have to be scaled down considerably, but there is enough material within the documents, reports and resolutions (if one is patient enough to dig it out amid the far too many words that churchmen always speak) to make the Christian churches in our era what they once were in the first century, "the upsetters of the world." Uppsala challenges Christians now to put their bodies (individually and ecclesiastically) where their words are.

Even this soon after its conclusion, I believe that one can sense the major contribution that Uppsala will make to the ecumenical movement. That contribution will be a change of direction, or at least a change of perspective. The point can be made by saying that the most important dates at Uppsala were not the dates of its meeting, July 4-19, 1968, but the dates of July 12-26, 1966, during which the World Conference on Church and Society was held in Geneva, on the theme, "Christians in the Technical and Social Revolutions of Our Time." The Geneva conference laid down a challenge to Uppsala. It concerned itself with the theme of world revolutions, and the response that the church is called upon to make to those revolutions in economic endeavor, a new understanding of the state, a new recognition of the "third world," the necessity for the rich nations to find ways to give other than paternalistic assistance to the poor nations, and so forth.

All of the old criticisms emerged after Geneva: these are not the tasks of the churches, the World Council is becoming only a social action agency, Christians must confine themselves to spiritual matters, and so on. And Uppsala, speaking in an "official" way that Geneva did not pretend to, could have repudiated this new sense of direction. To its great credit it did not. To its even greater credit, it endorsed such direction as the direction in which Christians must move together in the future.

I believe this to be an decision with far-reaching consequences. There have been two main streams in the World Council up to this time. One, Faith and Order, has dealt with the internal concerns of the churches in relation to one another, and has worked on doctrinal prob-

lems of division, ecclesiology and reunion. The other stream, Life and Work, has tried to relate the churches to the world beyond the churches, and the responsibility of the churches to deal with nationalism, war and peace, education, racism and economic deprivation. The lesson both groups learned (and the real reason the World Council of Churches came into being) was that neither concern could be separated from the other, and that each needed the contribution to its own thinking that only the other could give.

Thus far in the ecumenical movement there has been a particularly heavy stress on the internal-ecclesiastical side of ecumenism. This will not disappear because of Uppsala, and it would be a tragedy if it did. But I believe that the major emphasis will now, as a result of Uppsala, shift to the problem of the relationship of the church to the world, and how the church can most creatively occupy the role of servant in the world today. The shift, then, will be one of emphasis, and not one of closing down shop in one area in order to make brand new beginnings in another area. But the shift will be decisive and, for the role of the church in the '70s, clearly the right one. It will mean that we are now called upon

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more and more to turn outward from ourselves to minister to those in need, whether they acknowledge the name of Christ or not. It will mean that we are more concerned about fertilizer for India than new hymnals for Portland, that we pledge more dollars to reforestation in Nigeria than to rebuilding the parish house in Pittsburgh, that we pressure Congressmen to increase foreign aid rather than to reintroduce prayers in public schools. It will mean that we listen more seriously to Barbara Ward (my own private nominee for honorary president of the World Council of Churches next time it meets) than to most of the theologians on the scene, and that our criterion for where the church ought to be in the next decade is simply: "Where is the greatest human need?"

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The beauty of this new direction is that it will not only draw us closer to the rest of humanity whom we have so often neglected in our ecclesiastical introversion, but that it will also help us bridge the most awesome remaining ecumenical chasm, the chasm between the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Other writers will comment at length on the presence of Roman Catholics at Uppsala, and what this means for the future relationship of both groups. But whatever it is going to mean theologically and structurally within a few years, it means that immediately in the realm of service we can already make common cause. There are exciting plans for close working together between Geneva and Rome on problems of development, and names such as those of Fr. George Dunne, S.J., and Msgr. Joseph Gremillion, will be key names in working out these kinds of intense cooperation. Such activity is sometimes called "secular ecumenism." I am not particularly happy with the term, but I am exceedingly happy with what it points to: the increasing collaboration of Protestants and Catholics in concern for the dispossessed. Those particular doors Uppsala opened wide, and for that alone, if for nothing else, it would have been eminently worthwhile.

There was something slightly eerie in the fact that this strong attention to underdeveloped nations and the poor of the world took place in Sweden, a country in which the problems of food, shelter and clothing seem to be pretty well licked. The standard of living is high, and an extraordinarily high percentage of the population enjoys it. The "social problems" with which the Uppsala assembly concerned itself are, to a remarkable degree, solved in Sweden.

And yet Sweden has one of the highest suicide rates in the world.

All of which is a telling reminder of the fact that while our immediate priorities may need to be in areas of development, economic assistance, racism and the like, the eventual overcoming of those problems will not usher in the Kingdom of God, and that the gospel is concerned about providing a final meaning for life as well as a chance for the dispossessed to live at all. But Uppsala has shown that we cannot short-circuit the process and expect a hearing from people about the state of their souls while their bodies are wracked with hunger or disease.

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GUESS WHO'S COMING TO LUNCH?

THE SCREEN

I suppose (when the shouting about integration in movies and the film industry, and about black power and black culture, and about the new breakthrough of Negroes in films, although Sidney Poitier is still the only important star, and when all this clamor finally dies down) the proof of the pudding will be in the movies themselves. No doubt we are still in a transition period, but the pudding right now is pretty thin. And a couple of new pictures, although perhaps pointing in the right direction, are sad examples of the rise of Negro roles.

The only thing that differentiates "For Love of Ivy" from the comedies of the '30s and '40s is that Negroes play the lead roles. Its cliché-ridden story is about a well-heeled, white, Long Island family who are thrown into a dither when their Negro maid announces she is going to leave. Distraught Mr. Austin (Carrol O'Connor), realizing they're losing the jewel who runs their house so well, offers Ivy vacations—even to Africa. Scatter-brained Mrs. Austin (Nan Martin), who can't even make toast, asks Ivy, "What *do* you want?" And very attractive, thoughtful Ivy, who's worked for this family for seven years and hopes to go to secretarial school, replies, "I'm not sure. I just know I haven't got it now." The Austins' giddy daughter (Lauri Peters) and hippie son (Beau Bridges) decide that what Ivy needs is some romancing; and for the job they tap a successful Negro businessman who operates a trucking company. When he's reluctant, the hippie practically blackmails the trucker into dating Ivy, because hippie knows trucker runs a gambling business in his trailer trucks at night.

From then on, "For Love of Ivy" belongs to Abbey Lincoln, who plays the maid role with endearing dignity, and to Sidney Poitier, who displays his usual boyish charm—first in mild anger for having to date Ivy, and then in ardent romanticizing when he falls in love with her. But the good performances of these two (and of Lloyd Bridges' son Beau, as the hippie) cannot disguise the old-fashioned vacuity of plot, the boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-gets-girl clichés, the silly bedroom scene designed to show how daring we are now, or the film's patronizing attitude toward the whites who, themselves, are patronizing toward the blacks. Perhaps all this patronizing is meant to make up for all those false characterizations of Negroes in the past. In any case, two wrongs don't make a right. It's hard to know whom to blame for all the mediocrity in "For Love of Ivy." Robert Alan Aurthur wrote the screenplay from an original story by Sidney Poitier; and Daniel Mann gave the film its colorless direction. Surely these talents could have come up with something more interesting.

"The Story of a Three Day Pass," highly touted because it is the first feature film written and directed by a Negro, also has its share of patronizing touches—not only toward the whites but even in one scene toward a group of sight-seeing Negro gospel singers. The hero, himself, an American Negro G.I. stationed in France during peacetime, is an odd duck who doesn't like himself very much; he's somewhat ashamed of being black and, in a bout with his conscience after he gets a promotion and a three day pass, he calls himself an Uncle Tom. Turner, the soldier played by rather handsome, well-built Harry Baird, has a right to get angry with himself and certainly with his captain who looks down his nose at Turner and gives him a long lecture on dependability: "If I can't trust you, I'll bust you." This captain is such a caricature of a white officer (although there probably are some like him) that he is out of keeping with the lyrical tone that runs through most of the picture.

In Paris, after some desultory sight-seeing, Turner picks up a white girl in a bar; they dance, become friendly; and he persuades her to come with him on a weekend at the seacoast. This excursion, with its long auto ride, hotel arrangements (they share a room), dining scenes, beach scenes, sex scenes and romp through the countryside, becomes a strange mixture of idyllic poetry and stark realism—as if director-writer Melvin Van Peebles wasn't sure what effect he wanted. But perhaps the awkward mixture is the effect he wanted—to convey the lack of ease of a black man and white woman on their first weekend of this kind. However, the woman, played by Nicole Berger, is so fey, and the man is so suspicious and whimpering that the idyll gets rather silly. Some of Van Peebles' direction is good especially when he gets across the idea that what people do and what they think may not run along the same lines. But the film as a whole doesn't jell. Perhaps in his next movie this new director will be more sure of himself and his style.

It isn't Jim Brown's fault that "Dark of the Sun" is such a bloody mess. This picture, about mercenaries in the Congo who are sent to rescue some refugees and diamonds, makes Brown do the Noble Negro act, the kind of role Poitier plays so well. As a patriotic sergeant under a rough and cynical captain (Rod Taylor) and a still rougher, ex-Nazi officer (Peter Carsten), Brown is almost saintly in his behavior. "Dark of the Sun" has as much violence, killing and miscellaneous carnage as any picture of the year. It also has the usual clichés in the dialogue that go with this kind of modern swashbuckling movie. What it doesn't have, alas, is much feeling or explanation about the suffering and birth of a new country. High-minded Brown does say to money-minded Taylor: "To you this is a job; to me this is our Bunker Hill." But "Dark of the Sun" is really not concerned with a fight for independence or with racism. It is an exercise in slaughter and mayhem.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

The maybe-maybe land of nerve gas and chemical warfare

Chemical and Biological Warfare

SEYMOUR M. HERSH

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ROBERT KUTTNER

Last March, the American public was reminded of the existence of Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) experimentation when several thousand sheep were killed by nerve gas near the Army's top secret CBW proving ground at Dugway, Utah. The Army first denied any responsibility for the incident, then denied its denial.

The Dugway incident shed light on both the extreme secrecy that surrounds CBW and the unpredictability of its use. Although nerve gas, germ warfare and the like are generally assumed to be only in the experimental stage, for contingency use should an enemy strike first, chemical warfare is presently being waged in Vietnam through anti-crop defoliants and anti-personnel gasses, as well as napalm. In fact, since the late '50s, the Army Chemical Corps has waged a growing fight for public acceptance of these "humane" weapons, alternating between extreme secrecy and public relations drives. Beginning in 1956, army field manuals deleted the prohibition of first-strike usage of chemical and biological weapons.

Field manuals constitute only one primary source for Seymour Hersh's exhaustive study of chemical and biological warfare. Hersh has painstakingly researched Congressional testimony, historical documents, scientific papers, newspaper clip files, and relied on numerous interviews. His access to classified materials suggests that many of the insiders share his deep misgivings. The result is the only comprehensive work on a subject of growing importance. Hersh's book begins with a macabre glossary ranging from Anthrax to Zyklon-B, and concludes with an annotated bibliography. Hersh is a muckraking reporter who has done his homework.

Chemical and Biological Warfare is useful not only as a layman's guide to an unexplored universe of weapons, but also as a study of a super-secret military research establishment and the complicity of large sectors of the scientific and academic community. What emerges is a picture of a weird mirror-world in which research chemists and biologists develop more lethal chemicals and hardier strains of bacteria. Hersh quotes a source as follows:

"Much of biological warfare work inescapably has a special character, an inverted quality like that of medicine turned inside out. It consists in part, for example, of efforts to breed into pathogenic organisms precisely the characteristics—such as resistance to antibiotics—that medical researchers would like to see eradicated."

In an edition of the World Book Encyclopedia for high school students, an article prepared by the former director of germ warfare research at Camp Detrick refers to biological warfare as "public health in reverse." Chemical and Biological Warfare much more closely approximates Hannah Arendt's "banality of evil" than does conventional weapons research. Hersh describes a proposal to create medical courses of study, complete except for the Hippocratic Oath, so that BW research could continue without tainting the medical profession.

Every chemical and biological weapon contains its nemesis. If more potent bacteria are developed, the risk of contagion of friendly forces is increased. If more deadly chemicals are created, they may be more difficult to control, as a slight shift in the wind at Dugway proved. Or they may have permanent and unintentional effects. In his chapter on the use of defoliants in Vietnam, Hersh notes that the Vietcong is probably the most mobile of the Vietnamese population, whereas it is the civilian, especially the very old and the very young, who suffer most from America's crop-destruction program.

Little is known about the collective effect of the intensive chemical warfare being waged in Vietnam upon the ecology of the area. Hersh notes, for a starter, that much of Vietnam may be unable to grow crops for several years, that wild and domestic animals have unintentionally been killed as a result

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of eating poisoned crops, and that thousands of civilians have died either from breathing chemicals which are dropped from American planes or from the starvation which has followed massive crop destructions. It has also been noted in other places that the growing incidence of bubonic plague has resulted in part from the migration of country rats to the cities after the destruction of forests.

In addition to his discussion of the history of CBW, ranging from the introduction of mustard gas in World War I to the present chemical warfare in Vietnam, Hersh thoroughly treats the weapons themselves, the complex of secret bases, the research establishment, and what he terms the "CBW boosters." The book is pervaded by a well-documented conviction that these are uncharted waters, free from the scrutiny and caution that they require. Hersh expresses a sense of great unease at the extent and success of military advocacy. As the Associated Press' Pentagon correspondent for several months, Hersh filed a story on CBW that was re-written in New York to better express the military's "Humane weapons" line.

"Defoliation" has grown from a Goldwater bad joke into one of the central props of America's Vietnam strategy. Aside from a brief, worldwide flutter of protest when nausea gas was introduced against the Vietcong and a few days of press reports on the Dugway sheep incident, there has been little public notice or outcry at CBW save for an occasional broadside in the left-wing weeklies. Even the Dow Chemical protests have been directed at the most conventional of chemical weapons, napalm, whereas defoliation probably constitutes a much greater cause for public alarm.

Hersh concludes his book with a discussion of CBW research in other countries and a gloomy chapter on the prospects for CBW disarmament. This is the rare book which is both technically precise and readable, passionately critical, yet thoroughly researched. It is a unique and important study, which, in this year of political turmoil and the inflation of war's horrors, has yet to receive the attention it deserves.

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GERALD WEALES

Although the admirers of Joseph Keppler (of whom I am an enthusiastic example), of Bernard Gillam, of A. B. Frost, of one or another of the inventive nineteenth-century American political cartoonists may occasionally look longingly at the eminence of Thomas Nast, no one seriously disputes Nast's achievement or his influence—direct and indirect—on the cartoonists of his own and this century. On the most obvious level—since he invented the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey—his presence can be felt in almost every daily newspaper, at least during an election year. Yet, Nast left behind something more vital than the images he passed on to his successors—a sense of the importance of the political cartoon, as a comment and a weapon, that is still apparent today even though no practicing cartoonist (not Herblock, not David Levine) wields the kind of political power that Nast did in the 1870's. "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles, my constituents don't know how to read," complained Boss Tweed, whom Nast helped to destroy, "but they can't help seeing them damned pictures."

The primary virtue of *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* is that it gives contemporary readers a chance to see a great many more of "them damned pictures" than the handful of examples that ordinarily turn up in works on either politics or cartooning in the nineteenth century. Morton Keller has chosen 241 of the cartoons that Nast contributed to *Harper's Weekly* between 1862 and 1885, most of them from the 1870's, the years in which, somewhat to the chagrin of the editor, George W. Curtis, Nast was almost synonymous with *Harper's*. It is a large enough sampling to give a consistent sense of the

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man's work and the continuity of his images.

There are two basic Nast styles, the celebratory and the satiric. The first, which could elicit either sorror or awe, was used most insistently during the Civil War, in which Nast, a staunch Union supporter, dealt with the meaning and the pain of the war in heroic terms. Although many of these cartoons are still powerful, my response to them is less genuine than to the satiric ones, a simple recognition of Nast's intentions which, too often, I take as an accomplishment itself and hurry on in search of his invective. What is in operation here, I think, is the kind of aesthetic set that finds nineteenth-century genre and narrative painting fascinating once again and pushes the heroic-allegorical school into the dull limbo of simple historic relevance. Nast's satirical thrusts are still alive, even though the men and many of the issues and the attitudes that provoked them are long dead.

Nast's cartoons are full of writing—quotations, slogans, explanations—plastered to billboards in the background, snaking out of unrolling scrolls, placed formally at the bottom of the page. To a present-day viewer, conditioned to a simple point made sharply and quickly, there is far too much writing, but it is a reflection of the kind of detail with which Nast filled his drawings. Not to hang onto that detail is to miss half the angry fun of Nast's work. Take a simple example, "The Tearful Convention." It is an attack on the Philadelphia meeting of 1866 in which the conservatives in the Republican Party called for a reconciliation with the South which, to Nast, was an abrogation of the Union cause. It contains a host of tiny panels, some very inventive (the padlocked mouths of the delegates labeled "intellect" and "wisdom"), but the total effect comes from the fact that the falling tears of Andrew Johnson, who sits in a tiny circle at the bottom of the page, are echoed in every panel, an incessant rain of tears that get their meaning from the crocodile who figures prominently in the picture. Unless one is conditioned to look closely at Nast's detail, he might miss running gags, such as the paper that always sticks out of Horace Greeley's pocket, "What I know about. . . . H.G.," in the series of cartoons on the campaign of 1872, in which a coalition of Liberal Republicans and Democrats, under Greeley, tried unsuccessfully to defeat Grant, Nast's hero.

As Nast's work developed, the multi-paneled cartoon gave way to a single picture, of which there were two types, each impressive in its own way. One was a group picture, particularly effective in his treatment of the 1872 campaign and his attacks on the Tweed ring, in which a gang of men, the leaders identifiable, are involved in a nefarious action or caught in the cataclysmic consequences. The "Tidal Wave" washing away Greeley and his followers (in other cartoons he depicted them as pirates on board ship) is an example, a sense of total disaster spotted with comic detail, as in the depiction of Carl Schurz, belly down in the water, stretching his hands toward a rolled paper floating out of his reach; it is marked with the words "German Vote" and a stick figure thumbing its nose.

The other kind of cartoon involves a single figure or a small group performing a simple action or striking a pose at the center of the picture while the still identifiable background fades into grayness; in "This Is a White Man's Government," a Five Points Irishman brandishing a club, a Confederate veteran with a knife and a New York capitalist, a stuffed wallet on high, join hands over the prostrate body of a Negro Union soldier, while in the smoky distance are a colored orphanage and a Freedman's School, both burning, and a figure hanging from a streetlamp—images that appeared regularly in Nash's cartoon attacks on the Democratic Party. Although I have been emphasizing the overall form of Nast's cartoons in the descriptions above, their effectiveness lay finally not simply in their formal structures, but in his remarkable talent for caricature (the grasping Tweed, the bumbling Greeley) and the sharpness of his animal drawings which gave him the great comic figures to fill out the forms.

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Morton Keller's text is not simply a guide through the Nast cartoons (in fact, I wish he had the space and the inclination to identify more fully many of the faces and references not immediately identifiable). He presents Nast as a perfect model of the Radical Republican, dedicated "to a unified nation, belief in social freedom and equality of opportunity, an ebullient optimism," a position that explains without quite explaining away things like Nast's anti-Catholicism, distrust of unions and support of prohibition which, to a contemporary eye, sit uncomfortably with his defense of minority rights and public virtue. Nast is seen as a man quite sure of where he stood during the Civil War and in the early 1870's when the Radical Republicans and the Democrats seemed to represent specific and contradictory policies, but somewhat at a loss in the late 1870's and 1880's as power began to replace policy as the chief party motivation.

To some extent, this is a convincing reading of Nash, based on the cartoons gathered here, but the text is finally less a portrait of the artist and his art than it is a rather repetitious exegesis in which Nast serves as a symptomatic figure. It is difficult to escape the suspicion that Keller is using Nash to try out his theory about the changing nature of American politics—from ideology to organization—which he will presumably develop at length in the "broader study of late nineteenth-century American public life" that he is now working on. A valuable book because of the cartoons and much of Keller's commentary, it would have been still stronger if the theory had stayed in the background, like Nast's burning orphanage, and the cartoonist remained at the center of the work.

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REVIEWERS

ROBERT KUTTNER *is a political reporter based in Washington, D.C., and specializing in Congressional affairs.*

GERALD WEALES, *a frequent contributor, is the editor of* The Complete Plays of William Wycherley.

CORRESPONDENCE

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(Continued from page 547)

tice. Its standard-bearer, whether McCarthy, Humphrey, or other, will, our post-war experience suggests, pursue both international peace and justice but neither at the expense of the other. It seems especially difficult to accept that a Republican President will quest after these twin goals in the same form as a Democratic President, especially if this President is either Nixon or Reagan. If this is so, is Dr. Brown's revulsion for Mr. Humphrey either politically or morally appropriate? I think not. . . .

FRANCIS X. GANNON

Commonweal's Catholicism

Detroit, Mich.

To the Editors: The Pope's Credo in your editorial [July 12] certainly got taken over the coals. How can the author claim to be a Catholic? Is the Holy Father, as Supreme Teacher and Guide of Faith and Morals, worthy of such ridicule? Freedom of thought is good —but where is your faith? . . .

Don't you really believe in the Real Presence? What do we have, if our belief in the Eucharist is downgraded?

It seems to me we need fewer professionals in the field of theology and a few more men of faith to uphold the teaching magisterium of the Church. Theologians come and go—but the truths of Christ and His Church will prevail.

(REV.) CHARLES J. DE SANTIS

Prairie Village, Kan.

To the Editors: With reference to your criticism of the Holy Father's "Credo," we are puzzled as to why you still call yourselves "Catholics." Also, we would like to ask M. Novak, D. Callahan, H. Cox and their ilk why they do not start their own church—or can't they make it on their own?

MR. & MRS. JAMES D. CARNEY

Newark, N.J.

To the Editors: I realize that *Commonweal* has indicated more than once that it is not to be taken as a Catholic magazine but rather as a magazine edited by Catholics.

I wonder how long more it will be before you are willing to drop the word *Catholic* altogether. Your recent editorial against the Holy Father's Credo is certainly a step in that direction. I imagine that a sense of honesty will soon demand that you clarify things for your readers. . . . (REV.) ROGER A. REYNOLDS

How Now Mr. Jones

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Why do both of your writers on LeRoi Jones [June 28] fail to mention his ugly anti-Semitic sentiments —expressed both in prose and "poetry"?

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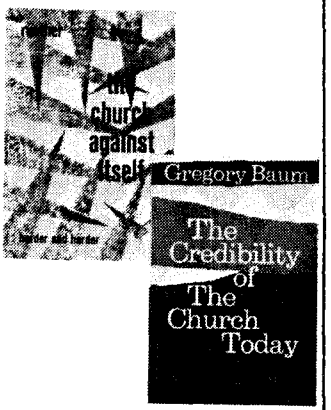
A Revolution in Religious Publishing?

Herder and Herder's program of spirited and original books has been called a revolution in religious publishing but we'd like you to judge for yourself. Listed below is a sampling of the many "revolutionary" Herder and Herder books—books that shape the contours of the new Christianity as they open-up and wrestle with today's liveliest issues.

Robert O. Johann's BUILDING THE HUMAN ($4.50), an eloquent testimony to the relevance of philosophy, illuminates the crucial role of thought in humanizing life. "Father Johann talks about the things we all talk about. Yet the result is both pure and applied philosophy. In each section he addresses himself to topics we never thought were philosophical, writes about them succinctly and clearly, and is always eminently practical" *(Long Island Catholic).*

Sister Corita's FOOTNOTES AND HEADLINES: A Play-Pray Book ($6.00) joyously revolutionizes design and creates an exhilarating new form of prayer. It takes a "great batch of words," turns them inside-out and upside-down, and uncovers the illimitable reservoir of wonder in taken-for-granted things. It is "a swinging example of mod meditations filled with brilliant swatches of color and eye-catching graphics" *(Time).* ". . . each picture has an airy gravity. I am refreshed by the designs and left thinking about deep meanings" *(Robert Lowell).* "A new form of book—an x-ray of human thought and social situations" *(Marshall McLuhan).*

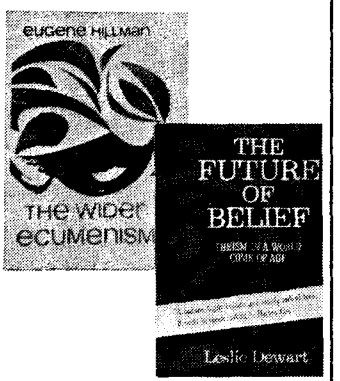
Eugene Hillman's THE WIDER ECUMENISM ($3.95), to be published in September, argues that the future of the Christian Church is to be found only in a dynamic, pentacostal, evangelical, and sacramental relationship with the whole of humanity. This highly original theological exploration by a missionary working in East Africa reveals the far-reaching demands Christianity must respond to if it is to avoid being simply the moribund culture-religion of Western man.



Engrossing and provocative re-evaluations of the future of the Christian community are found in **Rosemary Ruether's THE CHURCH AGAINST ITSELF** ($5.50) and in **THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CHURCH TODAY: A Reply to Charles Davis** ($3.95) by **Gregory Baum.** Rosemary Ruether's study is ". . . eminently readable, honest . . . exciting and imaginative" *(Daniel Callahan)* and offers "a stimulating and at times disturbing insight into the new spirit that is making itself felt in every branch of Christendom" *(The Christian Century).* Gregory Baum's far-reaching critique of the new ecclesiology developed at Vatican II "is a dispassionate but incisive examination of Davis's arguments, and a forceful rebuttal of them. In no sense, is it a matter of personalities . . . Baum does not represent static thinking. He, like the Church, is moving. His book is cogent and heartening" *(Msgr. John S. Kennedy).*

CELIBACY: The Necessary Option ($4.50), a responsible, spirited colloquy including Joseph Fichter, Robert Francoeur, John Noonan, and others, reflects the increasing consensus that priestly life and celibacy should be regulated by choice, not by definition. This is ". . . an especially good collection of articles, all of them stemming from the 1967 Notre Dame Symposium on Clerical Celibacy. The scope of the book, with historical, theological, and practical articles, gives it special strength" *(Commonweal).*

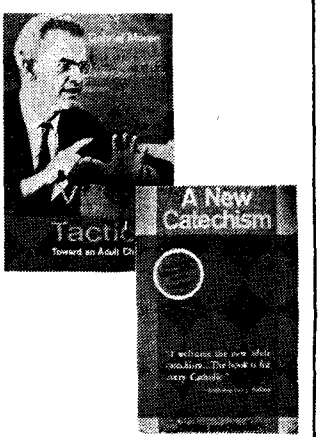
In **VIETNAM: Crisis of Conscience** (cloth $3.50, paper $.95) three distinguished writer-scholars provide a guidebook that explains tersely how we got involved and the price we're paying in men, money, and morality. Robert McAfee Brown, Abraham Heschel, and Michael Novak offer a ringing challenge which asserts that the war in Vietnam is immoral, and that our religious commitment demands united interfaith action. "A significant and compelling call for moral and religious judgement on political action" *(Senator Eugene J. McCarthy).*



Leslie Dewart's controversial **THE FUTURE OF BELIEF: Theism in a World Come of Age** (cloth $4.95, paper $2.45) represents the first fully articulated attempt by a Roman Catholic philosopher completely to recast traditional Christian doctrine in the light of modern man's new self-understanding. Dewart's brilliantly original vision, which is supported by a thorough scholarship, has been provocative of controversy and overwhelming acclaim. "An important event in the history of theological literature . . . No theologian will be able to overlook Dewart's work" *(Gregory Baum).*

In his authoritative treatment of collegiality, **CO-RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CHURCH** ($4.50), **Cardinal Suenens** discusses shared responsibility as the only true means of Church renewal and reform. He defines collegiality as extending not only from bishop to bishop, but from bishop to people as well. Completed after the historic 1967 Rome Synod, this work offers a clear explication of the Church's attitude toward the most significant development of Vatican II.

A complete revolution transforming catechetics from a child-catering to an adult-shaping witness is envisioned by **Gabriel Moran's** theologically sophisticated critique of religious education, **VISION AND TACTICS: Toward an Adult Church** (cloth $3.95, paper, $1.95). This ". . . book is required reading for all concerned about religious education in a time of crisis . . . Brother Moran has arresting and stimulating things to say. A keen and penetrating mind is at work throughout these pages" *(Msgr. John S. Kennedy).* Another revolutionary coup in religious education is still receiving accolades. **A NEW CATECHISM: Catholic Faith for Adults** ($6.00),



with more than 150,000 copies sold, has been praised as "the best written compendium of the Catholic faith since the *Summa*" *(John L. McKenzie, Commonweal).* "A superlative book that has the heart and intestinal fortitude to attempt to speak to today's people" *(The National Catholic Reporter).* "Beautifully written and well translated . . . it contains numerous insights into the Gospel which are absolutely fresh and exhilarating" *(Gerard S. Sloyan).* The "Dutch Catechism" is "a book born out of the promises and problems of the modern world . . . a warmly human document, deeply Christian, thoroughly in the spirit of Vatican II" *(Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan).*

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